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ABSTRACT

Discussed in this paper is a preliminary analysis of findings from data gathered during the first phase of a research project exploring the processes whereby the nature of the mother's occupation affects her family life, especially (1) her partnership in decisions about housework, child care and education and (2) the negotiation of the allocation of those responsibilities among family members. Following description of the project's procedures and the actual sample of 15 families studied, preliminary findings are presented in two sections. The first section outlines sample characteristics, using mostly the quantitative information available at this phase, while the second section summarizes the qualitative data generated by interviews with families. The report concludes with a revised research plan for the second phase of the project. Forms of interview schedules and coding categories are appended along with a description of the scales used to measure the subjects' work and family environments. (MP)

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FOURTH INTERIM REPORT, PHASE I AND ACTIVITIES AND TIMELINES FOR PHASE II

PROJECT: FAMILY AND COMMUNITY STUDIES (FACS)

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I. INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this research project is to explore the processes whereby the nature of the mother's occupation affects her family life, especially (1) her participation in decisions about housework, child care and education, and (2) the negotiation of the allocation of those responsibilities among family members.

There are several features of this study which distinguish it from most studies of dual-worker families. First, it focuses on some important aspects of the nature of maternal employment. In general, researchers have used maternal employment as an independent variable, often comparing part-time and full-time workers with stay-at-home mothers, making the relative absence from the home rather than what she is doing away from home the prime consideration. Our thesis has been that the influences of the jobs of both women and men on their families will vary depending on the type of job they have. Thus, the study proposed to examine the processes of job-to-home influences by varying the types of jobs held by the women.

Drawing on the research literature, the following important features of jobs from the perspective of the worker were selected: (1) the relative autonomy of the worker, (2) the degree of complexity of the tasks, and (3) the relative value placed on the job (including but not limited to wage or salary). For the purposes of selecting a sample, these job references have been operationalized as "skilled" versus "unskilled" jobs. When considering job features from the worker's perspective, they are referred to as the relative rewards and costs of different jobs.

A second important aspect of this study has been a desire to include consideration of the relations between parents and their children as well

as the relations between spouses. The vast majority of research on dual-earner families on the relationship between work and family life has focused primarily on the relationships between spouses, marital adjustment, marital satisfaction, etc. Although practical considerations have prevented the inclusion of children as respondents, both fathers and mothers have been interviewed, and the focus of the questions has been on family relations (i.e., the nuclear family) as opposed to marital relationships.

A third distinctive feature of this study is the attempt to focus on families where neither the wives nor the husbands have professional careers requiring advanced degrees. A relative abundance of research exists and is currently underway on "career women" and "dual-career families." As Rapoport and Rapoport (1979) have stated, dual career families are a special case of the dual worker family who are by far the more numerous. This study's aim has been to include families which fall within a moderate income level and where at least the women have no more than a high school education. The educational criteria has been met, although the total family income, on the average, is higher than expected.

Finally, this research has included an equal number of Black, Mexican American and Anglo families. The research focus is on relationships within the nuclear family, i.e., between husband, wife and dependent children. However, it is expected that there may be differences between the groups on how they define and perceive "family." The literature on Black and Mexican American families suggests a greater reliance on the "extended family" and informal networks of kin who can serve as support systems for working mothers. Another important implication regarding ethnicity is the possible variation in attitudes towards the employment of mothers. The census figures on labor

participation by women in Texas show higher rates for Black women and lower rates for Mexican American women. This difference may be reflected in differences in individual and family attitudes toward working mothers.

The ability to generalize this study's findings to the larger population of dual-earner families, and in particular to make generalizations about ethnic differences, is limited by our small sample. However, it is felt that there are equally important advantages for in-depth research when dealing with a small number of families. The goal has been to explore relationships and to identify processes whereby experiences in one sphere of life (work) affect those in another (home) and vice versa. Furthermore, any generalizations or hypotheses about possible ethnic variation can be checked for consistency with what is known from other research, and tested in additional studies.

The study's original design contemplated a six-cell configuration for the sample (three ethnic groups by two levels of skill). Estimates of the time involved in locating subjects, interviewing participants and transcribing, coding and analyzing mostly semi-structured interview data, suggested a sample size of no more than thirty families, with a goal of five families per cell (see Table 1).

Table 1

ORIGINAL SAMPLE CONFIGURATION

(N = 30 families)

		Ethnicity			
		Anglo	Mexican-American	Black	Total
Jobs	Skilled workers	5	5	5	15
	Unskilled workers	5	5	5	15
	Totals	10	10	10	30

Since the study was designed to be conducted over a period of two years, practical consideration dictated that only half of the sample be interviewed during the first phase of the study. Instead of restricting the first year to only one skill level or to one ethnic group, it was decided that the full sample design would be used, except that only 15 families would be studied. Following the advice of one reviewer, the skill variable was conceptualized as a continuum, and a semi-skilled category was added. Thus, the revised sampling configuration for Phase I is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

PHASE I SAMPLE CONFIGURATION

(N = 15 families)

		Ethnicity			
		Anglo	Mexican-American	Black	Total
Jobs	Skilled workers	2	2	2	6
	Semi-skilled	1	1	1	3
	Unskilled workers	2	2	2	6
	Totals	5	5	5	15

The design permitted the examination of at least three different jobs which varied in skill levels, and which were occupied by women representing all three ethnic groups. At this point, negotiations were already underway to gain access to a source of workers meeting the above characteristics. The actual procedures followed are reported in the next section.

II. PHASE I PROCEDURES

Once the basic sample design was determined, it was necessary to locate a source of subjects, recruit potential participants, determine their eligibility, commit their participation, and begin collecting the necessary data.

In this section the activities of this phase leading to a preliminary analysis of findings will be described. These activities are only summarized here, since greater detail has been provided in the previous interim reports to NIE (February 28, 1981; May 27, 1981; and August 26, 1981). Following the description of the procedures, the actual sample of families studied in this phase is described, and preliminary findings are reported. This fourth interim report concludes with a revised research plan for Phase II of the study.

A. Negotiations to Secure a Source of Subjects

A relatively homogeneous sample could be obtained by controlling the workplace variables. This could be accomplished by selecting women workers from a single industry.

Contacts were established with a number of potential sources of subjects and preliminary conversations were held. These sources included, in addition to businesses and industries, labor unions and training/employment programs. Contacts with local officials of Motorola Inc., a large electronics manufacturing plant, revealed a general reluctance on their part to allow an outside concern, even a non-profit research institution, to have access to their employees for research purposes.

Information from the local Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated that

one of the largest employers of women in the city was the telephone company. Local inquiries were referred to the company's corporate headquarters in another state. At that point, prior contacts with the Communication Workers of America local were reactivated.

The negotiations with local CWA leaders led to a presentation of the study's research purposes for their consideration. Once their cooperation was obtained, work sessions were conducted to decide how to proceed with the identification of the potential subjects. This involved working with the President of the local CWA and two female Vice-presidents. Their support and involvement in the location identification and pre-screening of the candidates not only saved valuable time, but also provided a tacit endorsement of the research effort and facilitated obtaining the actual cooperation from the subjects.

B. Recruiting Subjects

Once the cooperation of CWA leaders had been secured, they were provided with a set of sampling restrictions. The requirements were, in addition to specific job skill levels and ethnicity, that (1) potential subjects be currently married, (2) have at least one dependent child of school age (between five and 15 years of age), (3) have been working in their current job at least a year, and (4) having both spouses be of the same ethnicity.

These restrictions reduced drastically the pool of available subjects. The high incidence of divorce and remarriage and single parenthood surprised the union officers who until then had no reason to inquire about the marital status of their members. What appeared at the onset to be a relatively simple task actually turned out to be a much more difficult one.

In their contacts with potential subjects, union officials inquired only about "interest" in participating in the study, and then furnished interested people with copies of a brief three-page summary of the purpose and procedures for the study. For those who expressed interest, the union officers completed a Referral form and forwarded it to FACS staff. This form contained information about interested subjects including name, title of current job, how many years on that job, number of years in the company, number and ages of dependent children, ethnicity and work and home phone numbers. From that point on, the direct contacts with potential subjects were made by FACS staff.

C. Committing Subjects for Participation

Subjects who appeared to meet the sampling specifications were initially contacted by phone and then sent a follow-up letter. The letter requested a face to face "get acquainted" meeting between the couple and FACS staff who would conduct the actual interviews. During that initial meeting, the goals of the study were clarified, questions were answered, the need for the tape-recording of interviews explained, the pledges of anonymity and confidentiality made, and finally the Informed Consent forms were signed in duplicate by both participants and researchers. At that point, some first interviews also were conducted or in other cases later dates were arranged for interviews with each spouse separately.

D. Instrument Development

Concurrent with the negotiations to secure the sample of families, actual interview schedules had to be refined and interviewers trained. This

process was accomplished during a Pilot Test Phase that involved four families from diverse ethnic backgrounds and employed in the types of jobs anticipated for subjects in the actual study. One Black, two Mexican-American and one Anglo were among the families interviewed. The Pilot Interview Schedules used had been developed by the Project staff and modified after an in-house review by SEDL colleagues. The actual interview tapes were analyzed in-house and also submitted for analysis to an outside consultant, Dr. Nancy Wedemeyer of the University of Texas at Austin. Her input, together with Project staff's analysis of the interviews led to the development of final Interview Schedules used with the sample. (See Appendix A for a copy of the three schedules.)

In addition to the interviews with the mother and fathers, two standardized instruments were selected for use, following the suggestions and advice from both reviewers and our outside consultant. The first is The Family Environment Scale (Short Form), which consists of 40 statements that the respondent marks as true or false for his/her family. The Scale produces 10 subscale scores. These scores can be transformed into standard scores using tables provided by the instrument developer.

The subscales are grouped into Relationship Dimensions (includes Cohesion, Expressiveness and Conflict), Personal Growth Dimensions (includes Independence, Achievement Orientation, Intellectual-Cultural Orientation, Active Recreational Orientation and Moral and Religious Emphasis) and System Maintenance Dimensions (Organization and Control). Each individual's scores can be plotted in a graph to provide a visual profile. In addition, for each family an Incongruence Score can be computed by adding the discrepancies for each pair of subscale scores.

A similar Work Environment Scale was chosen to ascertain some characteristics of the workplaces of husbands and wives. Similarly constructed and used, the Work Environment Scale contains the following dimensions: Relationship Dimensions (includes Involvement, Peer Cohesion and Staff Support), Personal Growth Dimensions (includes Autonomy and Task Orientation) and the System Maintenance and System Change Dimension (includes Work Pressure, Clarity, Control, Innovation, and Physical Comfort).

Evidence for validity and reliability of these scales, including the Short Forms, is provided in the manual (Moos and others, 1974).

E. Staff Composition and Training

After considerable discussion, it was decided that interviewers would be matched by gender and ethnicity for mothers and by gender only for fathers. Therefore, two additional interviewers were recruited. Their academic background and extensive work experience permitted them to grasp the goals and procedures of the Project quickly.

The interviewers were required to read all pertinent documents, including the research plan and the reports from consultant and reviewers. They also participated with the regular staff in listening to and reviewing a complete set of data from the first family interviewed.

In addition to these activities, interviewers carried out two training interviews each with subjects which were outside the sample population. The collective staff review of these training interviews proved to be an effective means of improving the staff's competency with respect to coding and summarizing the data collected.

Following the training period, the research staff held regular formal

and informal sessions to exchange information, insights, and to share information on areas that required refocusing or deeper probes.

F. Difficulties Encountered and Solutions Implemented

The CWA officials who cooperated by providing referrals found to their surprise that the actual pool of eligible subjects was more restricted than they had anticipated. As time passed and no new referrals were obtained, the sample requirements and plan were revised. Three strategies were used: (1) families who had already been interviewed at the start of the data collection cycle were asked to be used as references with other prospective participants. Project staff felt that the best person to explain the project and break down the natural hesitation other subjects might feel about participating in a study would be those who had already participated and could attest to the accuracy of staff descriptions of the study. (2) as an added effort to locate and recruit subjects, it was decided to ask former participants to actively seek out potential subjects from among co-workers they knew since CWA officers often did not know about the family status of their members, and thus could not judge their eligibility for the sample. (3) the sampling restrictions imposed at the start of the study were relaxed, and some cases that were somewhat different from the rest of the sample were included.

The relaxed criteria are most evident on the Black sample, where the greatest delay and difficulty in recruiting and committing subjects was experienced. Apparently the actual number of Black employees there is relatively small, and/or the rate of divorce among those employees is relatively high. The reduced pool of available Black family not only forced us to

include families which did not meet our ideal sampling criteria, but it may have led to the inclusion of families with more evident internal conflict than the remainder of the sample, since our persuasiveness may have discouraged the normal operation of self-selection processes. The fact is that of the five Black families, three contain at least one previously divorced spouse. One of those families had dependent stepchildren living in the home, but in another family the only child was younger than most of the children in the other families.

To summarize, the actual deviations from our proposed sample characteristics in terms of marital history and ages of children are as follows: First, an Anglo family in which both spouses had been previously married, but neither had children in those first marriages; second, an Anglo family had a one-year old child. In addition to facing different parenting problems this couple is significantly younger than the rest of the sample, has been married a shorter time, has a significantly lower income and is the only family that does not own a home; third, a Black family is actually a blended family consisting of a widower with three teenaged children married to a twice-divorced woman with one child of school age. There are no children from the current marriage, which is recent. The presence of the step-relationships complicates family life and interpersonal relationships; fourth, a Black family has a three-year-old child, which is younger than the desired school age. In addition, the father has been married before and has a daughter living with his former wife; fifth, in another Black family the father has been married previously, has two older children in their early teens who live in town with their mother and visit his home frequently but not on a regular basis. The husband declined to participate in the study,

and it was decided that two interviews with the mother were better than being short one Black family, so they were included although data on this family will be incomplete; sixth and last, no Black semi-skilled worker who met the sample specifications was located. Thus, for the Black sample, three unskilled worker families were selected. It should be pointed out that every effort was made to locate and commit subjects that met the original specifications. But as a last resort, and faced with deadlines, those requirements had to be relaxed.

III. DATA ANALYSIS

A. Data Management

Since the Second Mother Interview dealt with mostly "process" data, all those interviews were transcribed in full. First Mother Interviews were reviewed to produced written summaries that included more straightforward information about work history, and verbatim quotes reflecting interpretations and judgments on key issues. These summaries were prepared by the person who conducted the interview. Father Interviews were also summarized in written form and included information about work history. The second part about family life was transcribed in full. In one case machine failure required notes to be taken during a First Mother Interview, and in another case the father did not allow his interview to be tape recorded. Data for this interview are notes written after the interview. Finally, as earlier indicated, one father declined to be interviewed. Therefore, basic information about his work and participation in family life comes only from the wife's perspective.

The Family Environment Scale and Work Environment Scale forms were scored, and those scores transformed into Standard Scores using the tables provided by the instrument developers. For each Scale completed, a profile was prepared. Data from the Family Environment Scale produced a "family" score which was computed by averaging the responses of both spouses. In addition, a Family Incongruence Score was computed by subtracting the scores of the mother from those of the father and adding the differences.

B. Development of Coding Categories

The examination of early transcripts independently by both researchers

produced a variety of ways in which the data collected could be organized. Re-examination of some of the basic theoretical issues considered in the original proposal, and more recent insights generated by a reformulation of problems and issues with a more "systems" perspective led to a coding scheme that was tried and refined in the early stages of analysis. Once consensus was achieved, the whole research team, including the two interviewers, agreed upon a concise set of coding categories designed to capture the essential data generated from all three interviews. The coding categories are included in Appendix B.

Actual coding was performed by interviewers for those interviews conducted by each. In addition, consistency checks were performed by FACS staff. Quality control was maintained through frequent consultation and review by FACS staff of the coding done by temporary interviewers.

Once each interview had been coded and checked by FACS staff, it was re-typed with the coded segments arranged sequentially for each code. This way, all paragraphs and phrases pertinent to each code appear together for each interview. The final product of this rearrangement and crunching of the interview data is a "Data Book" containing all codes arranged by interview for each family. There is a total of fifteen data books; the raw interview data is kept in bound volumes for easy reference as needed.

C. Quantitative Data

All quantitative data available for each family unit and its individual members has been prepared for computer analysis. At this point, however, only very basic descriptive statistics have been generated and they will be presented in the description of the sample in the next section of this report.

A complete examination of the psychometric characteristics of the Scales for our small sample is planned for the next Phase. In the next section some comparisons will be presented of the raw scores from our sample with those provided in the Family Work and Group Environment Scales Manual (Moos, R. H., and others, 1974).

IV. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

A. Introduction

The discussion of findings from data gathered during Phase I of the project is preliminary. The analysis is not complete, since qualitative research of an inductive nature requires that analysis proceed in conjunction with all data gathering periods. In addition, we propose to double the size of our sample, retaining the ethnic diversity of respondents in the same proportions but varying the employment circumstances of the women by sampling from new workplaces during the second phase of the research.

The discussion will be broken into two main sections: (1) a description of the sample and (2) a summary of some observations relevant to our original research questions, and those drawn from a preliminary analysis of interviews with the first fifteen families. The implications of these observations for the plan of activities for Phase II of the Project will be discussed in the final part of this report.

Before we discuss the data from our interviews, a context for the current analysis is provided which summarizes the evolution of the analytical framework. (For more detail on this process consult the 1981 interim reports.)

Early doubts about the adequacy of a straightforward application of exchange or resource theory to the structuring and interpretation of our interview data provides a good example of how, in inductive research, the analytical framework must change in order to remain responsive to the data.

The original analytical framework proposed to examine the relationship between families and the workplace was "exchange" or "resource" theory, which are variations on a model which has been predominate in recent sociological studies of the family (i.e., Scanzoni, 1979). The theory posits that relative

power of spouses in a marriage rests on the number and kind of external resources available to each; e.g., educational level and salary are often cited as important resources.

Using this general framework, the proposal sought to sample two-working parent families in which wives were employed in jobs that varied in terms of the resources they provided. The resources thought to be significant in differentiating jobs were (1) the degree of autonomy of the worker, control over own pace of work, etc.; (2) the complexity of the work task, including the daily or weekly variability of the work; and (3) the value placed on the work, including the salary and the esteem given the work by co-workers and family members.

By varying the jobs of wives and mothers along these dimensions, it was expected that the effects of key features of employment experiences on the relationship among their family members in the home and effects on the negotiation of parental roles with their husbands could be examined. In addition, it was proposed to look for key aspects of the exchange process between workplace and family, regarding both as two systems interrelated by the individual worker.

During the Pilot Test phase of interviewing, several realities emerged which led to a shift in the analytical framework. The first was a very practical one: during the pilot interviews, the interview guide constructed using questions suggested by the resource theory framework, caused antagonistic feelings in some respondents towards their spouses, thereby risking corresponding antagonistic feelings on their part towards the project. It was concluded that the basis for this was related to the presumption by

resource/exchange theory of an essentially adversary relationship between spouses, modeled as it is on the capitalist market relationships of bargaining and power.

Another limitation of the original interview guide was its arbitrary selection and limitation of family relationship areas to focus upon. Concentrating the inquiry primarily on the division of labor between spouses in preselected areas related to child care and child socialization, made the study far more limited than the original purposes.

The subtle but important shift in thinking about family relationships, as a result of insights offered by our consultant, Dr. Nancy Wedemeyer of U. T. Austin, was in the direction of systems theory, as represented in Kantor and Lehr (1974). The systems framework led to questions which focused less exclusively on the actual division of labor, and more towards the processes of individuals and families' styles of responding to conflict, making decisions, solving problems, and adapting to circumstances, both at work and at home.

In addition, although many of the questions still retained an emphasis on behavior, there was a more formal incorporation of interest in the subjective perceptions of parents, through systems theory's explicit recognition that behavior in social systems (unlike in mechanical systems) is purposive and goal-seeking. In family process, as discussed by Kantor and Lehr (1974), there are constant feedback loops between behavior and ideas and goals, providing an approach to the family which is essentially dynamic and thus suggesting an analytical framework which is not causal, implying linear relationships between variables, but rather one where relationships between individuals and between workplaces and homes is reciprocally influencing.

Another "reality" which has influenced the nature of our data concerns the sampling procedure and its effects on the type of jobs held by the women in the sample. While trying to retain as much control as possible over policies of employers of women in the sample, and varying their jobs according to key criteria, the sample was selected through a single union but in different job levels within the same company. Since this company has a very rigid and broadly applied style of supervision and management, the jobs--while varied according to salary level and by complexity of tasks--are in general completely lacking in autonomy. As a result, while there is variety in jobs of women in the sample relevant to the original analytical framework, there is little variety among the jobs regarding the feelings of satisfaction of the women with their work. This appears to be due to the fact that the satisfaction derived from work is for the most part inseparable from the degree of autonomy and style of supervision associated with the job.

The effect of this important characteristic of the jobs of women in the sample is to eliminate a clear distinction between the jobs of women in the sample according to objective standards of the desirability of the work (i.e., "resources" provided); all that remains is the salary differences between the jobs represented, and even those are not very large in practice. Rather, the choice of staying in one job or moving to another by women in this sample are somewhat idiosyncratic, depending on which type of rigidly controlled work tasks or supervision they can adjust to best--work schedules, liking for a supervisor, location, and other "non-resource" characteristics of the various jobs.

The advantage for the study of this one-company sample, on the other

hand, is that the company's policies influencing a worker's daily experience in the office and her access or lack of access to her family on a daily or regular basis are constant, and they were clearly described by all female respondents and can therefore be assessed for their influence on workplace/home exchanges with greater confidence than if the work itself were more varied.

The project has collected two distinct types of data on the fifteen families interviewed so far: (1) interview data on both spouses. These consist of two interviews each with the mothers, lasting on the average an hour and fifteen minutes each; and one interview with each father, lasting on the average an hour and a half (see discussion of procedures for explanation of the one exception, where we got no interview with the father); and (2) the Work Environment and Family Environment Scales previously described. The scores of each member of the family have been computed and compared both within families and between families, and with data from the normative samples provided by the Scale's developers.

The findings that follow are presented in two sections: the first one is a description of the sample using mostly the quantitative information available, including some preliminary analyses of the Scales for the three ethnic groups and the total sample. The main section of the findings is the product of the analysis of the much richer qualitative data generated by the interviews with wives and husbands.

B. Description of the Sample

Because of the small number of families in the sample, a complete tabular presentation of the data would serve to identify specific families,

and thus it would violate the pledge of anonymity offered. In some cases, places and locations of work or occupations have been substituted for others of an equivalent nature. Only means and standard deviations for ethnic groups and for the total sample are presented in Table 3.

Only selected trends merit commentary. With respect to the age of the fathers, there are three men who account for the larger standard deviations of the Anglo and Black groups. The rest are remarkably homogeneous, as are the women, with only one exception in the Anglo group. On the average, the husbands are older than their wives in both the Anglo and Black groups; in the Mexican American group, three of the five wives are slightly older than their husbands.

The median length of the marriages is 12 years for the total sample; two couples have been married about two years and all the rest have been married seven years or more.

The ages of the children living at home range from one year to 21 years; the family with the 21-year-old is actually a remarried couple, and the focus of the interviews was the eleven-year-old child. In thirteen of the fifteen families interviewed there was at least <u>one</u> elementary school-age child. The exceptions were only children in two families; one a three-year-old and the other just over one year of age. Thus, there were two families with one child, six families with two children, five families with three children, and two families with four children.

Three of the five Black families are remarriages after divorce and/or widowhood. However, in only one of the families were there stepchildren living permanently in the home.

Women in the sample work at jobs that do not require education beyond

high school. Only one woman was a college graduate, although several others had taken some college courses, or briefly attended community colleges or business colleges. Five women reported no additional education beyond high school.

Husbands, on the other hand, had up to six years of education beyond high school. Four had a Baccalaureate degree, one a Master's degree, and one had two Baccalaureate degrees. Four out of the five Mexican American men had a Baccalaureate degree or higher, while none of the Black men had completed college. Four men reported no education beyond high school. Six men had some college, community college or business college education, but did not attain a degree. In only one case did the wife have more education than her husband, and in no case did both spouses have college degrees.

The income figures reported in Table 3 require some caution. They are approximations reported by the respondents about their income last year. In several cases the situation had changed in the current year. One woman only worked about nine months last year and was on leave without pay the rest of the time. Her husband, however, received a housing allowance that is expected to increase this year. Another husband has an occupation that is adversely affected by bad weather, so his income last year was lower than his average, and he is currently working independently in addition to his regular job. Another family was expecting a drop in income this year because of an extended maternity leave without pay, but expected to make up the loss with income from a farm.

The income figures reported by the women are not necessarily in direct relation to their job classifications. Although wages for the jobs sampled range from a low of $175 a week for a beginning Operator to a high of $396

Table 3

BASIC INFORMATION BY ETHNICITY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

	Age Father	Age Mother	Years Married	Number of Children	Father's Salary*	Mother's Salary*	Total Income*	Mother's Share %	Years at Company	Years at Job.
Anglo Families										
Means	32.8	29.0	9.4	2.0	22.0	14.4	36.4	41.2	9.2	4.8
S.D.	7.0	4.6	4.6	.7	10.9	4.2	13.5	9.2	5.8	4.7
Mexican American Families										
Means	32.0	33.6	12.2	2.8	17.4	18.2	35.6	51.0	7.6	6.2
S.D.	1.6	2.1	1.6	.8	2.2	1.8	3.3	3.1	2.6	3.4
Black Families										
Means	35.2	30.6	7.6	2.6	20.8	15.6	36.4	44.0	11.0	7.0
S.D.	6.3	2.2	3.7	1.1	5.3	.9	5.1	7.4	3.3	3.6
Total Sample Families										
Means	33.3	30.7	9.8	2.5	20.1	16.1	36.1	45.4	9.3	5.8
S.D.	5.3	3.3	3.8	.9	6.9	3.0	7.9	7.8	4.1	3.8

* All income figures were given in thousands of dollars. (annual income last year)

for a Service Representative with four years'seniority. The top salary for an Operator with four years of seniority is $347, only $49 less a week than the higher classified Service Representative job. These scales are negotiated every three years in collective bargaining between the company and the Communication Workers of America, and are subject to an annual readjustment between contracts. In effect, the actual salary that workers make is determined (1) by their willingness and/or availability to work overtime when they want and/or the company needs them (at overtime rates), (2) by their willingness to take leave without pay during low demand periods, (3) by their seniority, and (4) by their job classification.

The husbands' salaries range in the Anglo sample from 12 to 36 thousand dollars a year. In the Mexican American sample, they range from 14 to 20 thousand a year. In the Black sample, they range from 14 to 25 thousand a year.

The wives' salaries range from nine to 19 thousand a year for the Anglo sample. That lower lower figure corresponds to a nine month income year. For the Mexican American women it ranges from 16 to 21 thousand, the higher figure earned by a woman who works overtime regularly. In the Black sample, last year's earnings were reported to range from 15 to 17 thousand dollars.

The combined income last year for the total sample ranged from a low of 22 (an Anglo family) to a high of 50 thousand dollars (two Anglo families). The highest income corresponds to two families of high level job husbands married to high skill job wives, and the lowest income corresponds to a family of a skilled craftsman in the lower level for husbands, married to an Operator, in the lower skill level for women.

The relative contribution of the wives' salaries to the total family income range from a low of 28% in a very high income family to a high of 55% in a middle income range family. The average contribution of Mexican American mothers is higher than for the other two groups, and it tends to bring up the family income close to the mean for the sample.

All the women in the study have "craft" jobs, defined by exclusion as being non-supervisory, non-management jobs, and as such covered by the contract negotiated by the company and the Communication Workers of America union.

There is considerable job mobility due to ease of transfer between the "craft" jobs. The most common transfers are simply changes in location from one unit or plant to another within the central Texas area. Other changes are "lateral transfers" that do not involve a change in salary, but do involve changes in job functions, schedules and seniority. The seniority system determines, among other things, the order in which employees in a given unit are allowed priority over the most desirable vacation times, schedules, and other forms of leave without pay. Salary increases are automatic and are determined by the overall contractual conditions negotiated every three years by the union.

In addition to lateral transfers, craft workers can request promotions and transfers to higher classified and more highly paid jobs. Those transfers and promotions are determined by ratings of efficiency, attendance, and recommendations from supervisors and managers. Supervisory personnel can be either selected from the ranks of the craft employees or can be hired directly from the outside, with no control from the union. Some jobs require aptitude tests, and in most cases there is formal training which may

vary in length according to the complexity of the new functions. In addition, frequent changes in the job procedures and new equipment require retraining of the job incumbents. In some cases training involves travel to a different city for a limited period of time.

The women interviewed in this phase of the study have been working for the company from two to 16 years, in most cases continually, interrupted only by maternity leaves. The median length of service is ten years, and the median length of service in their present classification is six years.

There are some clear differences between the three ethnic groups in terms of their occupational careers. In the Anglo group, the high skill women have been with the company for over 12 years, moving through a variety of jobs, units, and even cities. They have been Service Representatives for two to four years. The semi-skilled Anglo woman moved up to her job from an entry level job as Service Order Writer. The two unskilled women (Operators), however, have not made moves to higher paid jobs; one has been working there only two years, but the other has been in that same classification for her entire 13-year career.

The Mexican American women exhibit a different pattern. The two Service Representatives have spent close to their entire time in the company (eight and ten years) in those jobs. In addition, the semi-skilled Mexican American woman has moved <u>down</u> to that job recently, sacrificing higher pay and seniority for a less stressful job as a Stenographer. The two unskilled (entry level) Mexican Americans have spent all of their time (eight and six years) in their jobs as Service Order Writer and Operator, respectively.

The two high skilled Black women have spent from 11 to 16 years, their entire working careers, at the company, moving up the ladder in various jobs.

Promotion to their present jobs were the result of a discrimination complaint for one, and after having earned a college degree in business in the other, a degree which made her extremely over-qualified for her Operator job, although a college degree is not a requirement for her present position either. The three Black Operators have been with the company from eight to 12 years, and have spent their entire time as Operators.

The occupations of the fathers/husbands in the sample vary considerably. No husband, however, has a job that is lower in either skill and/or pay than his wife's job. The highest level jobs were those of three men in managerial/professional/public accounting/business management jobs. Two other fathers had midlevel management jobs involving either personnel or materials. One father was an educational specialist for a public agency, and three others were public service employees with the City, armed forces, or civil service. High skilled jobs were represented by an electronics technician, skilled carpenter, a skilled printer, a skilled mechanic, and two telephone repairmen.

Overall, the Anglo and Mexican American fathers tended to have higher level occupations than those of the Black fathers. The income level of Black fathers, however, was on the average as high as that of the Anglo fathers. The combined family income, however, is on the average similar for all three ethnic groups. The difference is made for the Black sample by the skilled workers who make the highest wages at their levels, and who tend to work overtime.

C. Quantitative Analysis of Scale Subscores

A preliminary analysis has been performed with the scores obtained with the Work Environment Scale. Table 4 lists the means for each subscale

for (1) the normative sample (Moos, R. H., and others, 1974), (2) five Service Representatives, (3) six Operators, (4) the total sample, and (5) the husbands' jobs.

A comparison between the two main groups of female workers sampled using the subscales indicate some differences which are consistent with the more detailed accounts of working conditions obtained during the interviews. The Service Representatives appear more involved and committed to their jobs, but report working in a climate that does not emphasize good planning and efficiency. At the same time, workers report that they do not know what to expect in their daily routines and feel that rules and policies are not communicated explicitly. Furthermore, these workers experience little autonomy in the decisions that they have to make from day to day. High involvement and commitment, coupled with a climate that does not emphasize good planning and efficiency nor autonomy appears to produce high levels of stress in these workers. This psychological carry-over from job to home has been related by at least three respondents to physical manifestations of stress such as headaches, stomach aches and other ailments, and is frequently reported by mothers and fathers to affect the behavior of the mother with her children, her moods, patience and energy level.

Overall, the work environment profile that can be produced for the jobs that these women hold is significantly different from the averages reported by Moos (1974). All but two of the subscale means presented in Table 4 under the heading "company wide" are significantly different from the normative sample means. Only Clarity and Control, both System Maintenance Dimension scales, are near the norm. The direction of all the differ-

Table 4

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE SUBSCALE MEANS:

COMPARISONS

Subscales**	* Normative Sample N=44	Service Reps. N=5	Operat-ors N=6	Company wide N=15	Husbands' jobs N=15
1. Involvement	2.80	2.20@	1.83	1.87&	2.33¢
2. Peer Cohesion	2.73	2.20	2.67	2.33&	2.07¢
3. Staff Support	2.94	1.40	2.50	2.00&	2.80
4. Autonomy	2.69	0.60	1.33	1.33&	#3.00¢
5. Task Orientation	2.51	1.40@	3.33	2.07&	2.33
6. Work Pressure	1.77	3.80	2.83	2.73&	1.87
7. Clarity	2.33	1.40@	3.17	2.27	2.00
8. Control	2.32	2.20	2.33	2.40	2.13
9. Innovation	2.40	1.60	1.50	1.60&	1.93¢
10. Physical Comfort	2.04	1.00	2.00	1.73&	2.20
Work Quality Score***		10.40	13.00	12.53	#16.27

* The data for the normative sample is provided by Moos, Rudolph H. and others, Combined Preliminary Manual; Family, Work and Group Environment Scales, Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc. Palo Alto, California 1974

** Each subscale has four items. (For a description, see Appendix C.)

*** The Work Quality Score is a composite score obtained adding to a Constant =10 the scores for Involvement, Staff Support and Autonomy, and subtracting the score for Work Pressure. WQS = 10 + SS1 + SS3 + SS4 - SS6

\# Indicates significant difference between spouses

@ Indicates significant difference between jobs

& Indicates significant difference between company wide and norms

¢ Indicates significant difference between husband's jobs and norms

All significant differences are at P= .05 of better.

ences found indicate generally less desirable working conditions for the work environments sampled from this company.

The mean scores for the husbands, presented in Table 4 under the heading "husbands' jobs" are very close to the normative sample means for most of the subscales. The exceptions are that fathers have jobs that are lower in Involvement, Peer Cohesion, and Innovation, but higher in Autonomy than those used in the normative sample.

A more interesting comparison is that between husbands' and wives' jobs. The analysis of variance comparing husbands' and wives' jobs reveal that husbands have jobs that are significantly higher in Autonomy, defined as the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. The mean Work Pressure for the wives' jobs is higher than the husbands', although this difference does not reach statistical significance at the $p = .05$ level.

A composite score, Quality of Work Scale, was constructed in an effort to develop a single index which could capture the most significant aspects of the work environment. Four subscales were selected to represent all the dimensions considered in the construct "work environment" (Moos, 1974). Involvement measures the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs, Staff Support measures the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other. Autonomy assesses the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. Finally, Work Pressure measures the extent to which work pressure dominates the job milieu. Thus, a "good" job is one which one feels committed to and concerned for, where both managers and co-workers are supportive, where one is encouraged to be self-

sufficient and to make one's own decisions, and where there is no constant external pressure to produce, but rather there is self-motivation. Thus, the Work Quality Score is simply the sum of the scores for subscales 1, Involvement; 3, Staff Support; 4, Autonomy, minus the score of subscale 6, Work Pressure. A constant = 10 was added to avoid negative scores.

The mean of the Quality of Work Scores computed for the husbands' jobs was higher than the mean score for the wives' jobs. This difference is significant to the p = .01 level.

The means for the Family Environment Scale are presented in Table 5. Although the means are given for each ethnic group and for the total sample, there are no clear patterns of differences between the ethnic groups. The comparison of the total sample with the normative sample, on the other hand, reveals that these two-working parent families are significantly more cohesive, defined as the extent to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other. Furthermore, the sample families are significantly more Achievement Oriented, defined as the extent to which different types of activities are cast in an achievement oriented or competitive framework. These families are by far more religious than the normative sample. Finally, they are significantly higher in Organization, defined as how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring the family activities, financial planning, and explicitness and clarity in regard to family rules and responsibilities.

These patterns are consistent with our findings in the interviews. It also makes intuitive sense that families in which both parents work, and have done so for most of their married life, would be highly organized,

Table 5

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE: COMPARISON OF SAMPLE MEANS

SUBSCALES		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Anglo Families N= 5	M	3.60	2.80	1.70	2.50	2.40	2.00	2.50	2.90	2.90	1.80
	S.D.	.55	.97	.91	.50	.42	.87	.61	.65	.96	1.15
Mexican-American Families N= 5	M	3.50	2.50	1.60	2.70	2.60	2.60	3.10	2.90	2.70	2.90
	S.D.	.87	.79	.55	.25	.65	.82	.42	1.34	.84	.74
Black Families N= 5	M	3.20	2.20	2.00	2.60	2.90	2.70	2.40	3.60	3.00	2.40
	S.D.	.57	.45	1.22	1.19	.22	.45	1.14	.55	1.00	.65
All Sample Families N= 15	M	3.43*	2.50	1.77	2.60	2.63*	2.43	2.67	3.13*	2.87*	2.37
	S.D.	.65	.76	.88	.71	.48	.75	.79	.92	.86	.94
Normative Sample Families** N= 285	M	2.91	2.25	2.15	2.76	2.26	2.71	2.74	1.94	2.37	2.15
	S.D.	.86	.82	1.09	.77	.93	.94	.93	1.30	1.02	.95
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Cohesion	Expressiveness	Conflict	Independence	Achievement Orientation	Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	Active Recreational Orientation	Moral-Religious Orientation	Organization	Control

* Significant difference with the normative sample at the P.= .05 or better.

** Normative Sample data taken from Moos, R.H. &Others, Combined Preliminary Manual: Family, Work & Group Environment Scales, Consulting Psychologists Press, Palo Alto California, 1974 (p.9)

and that they would emphasize achievement. That these adaptations over time tend to increase cohesion is not surprising since these are families with a greater sense of purpose, families in which work is a means to maintain the family unit's viability and integrity, and a means to reach their goals of security and well being.

D. Qualitative Analysis of Interview Data

The analysis of coded interviews has been conducted using the "constant comparative method," as it is referred to by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This method consists of formulating working hypotheses about relationships and patterns within the data, then returning to the data to check hypotheses with comparison groups selected for their relevance to the hypothesis. The analysis was done by project staff who have also conducted most of the interviews, done some transcriptions, and coded or recoded all of the interviews. This has provided them with the appropriate working familiarity with the raw data and its complexities. It was decided to proceed with the early formulation of working hypotheses by examining the statements coded for each family under the category "Work and Family Interrelatedness (WF)." This code helped to identify statements respondents made which appear relevant to the core focus area of the study, the processes linking jobs and family roles. By beginning the formal stage of analysis with this code, certain features of work and family organization which appear to be significant in distinguishing the families from each other have been isolated.

A central issue of the analysis must be mentioned at this point. The processes explored through the interviews are complex and not always obvious

to the very people affected. The awareness of the effects of one's job on one's family life varies widely; some effects are more easily recognized and attributed to their source than others. Moss-Kanter (1977) calls this "the myth of separate worlds'; it is an ideology shared by many, often encouraged by employers, that holds the separateness of the world of work from the private, personal world of the workers. Through physical and temporal barriers, work and family are kept apart, and this separation makes people ignore or suppress awareness of ways in which these worlds are mutually influencing each other, especially those which are detrimental to individuals and families.

Another important aspect of the analysis must be mentioned at this point. In the course of interviewing, coding and re-coding interviews, a significant amount of information about these families has become part of the shared experience of the researchers. In some instances, when a pattern seemed to appear, it could be discussed and dismissed with minimal consultation with the actual interviews of the coded "data books." These instances were frequently related to employment and family histories. As a result, when the formal preparation of this report began, more time was spent checking the data books for accuracy in the more complex analyses, such as those presented in the last part of this section. Therefore, the first two parts often contain the terms "most," "some," "a few," etc. It was felt that the added accuracy was not worth the time required to go back to the actual data books to get exact figures.

The preliminary findings from this analysis have been organized into three sections: (1) employment and family histories, (2) general conditions of the work of women and men, and (3) work and image of the ideal family.

1. Employment and Family Histories

The relationship between the employment and family histories of the women in the sample is revealing. All but two of the women are currently in their early 30's. They have, for the most part, been working outside the home steadily for over ten years, often since before graduating from high school. With few exceptions, these women have worked outside the home full-time throughout their married lives, leaving the labor force only for periods of around six months or less at the time of their children's births. The only exceptions are one Anglo couple who ran a family farm for the first six years of their marriage and one Black woman who did not work outside the home for the first three years of her marriage while she and her husband moved around in the military and her first child was born. These families, then, have formed and developed while depending on the income of both parents, and while facing the difficulties of running a household, caring for and socializing children, and providing for the needs of two full-time members of the labor force.

When asked for the reasons they went to work in the first place, female respondents invariably answered that it was because of their need for money. When asked why they have continued to work outside the home, the response was invariably (although not exclusively) related to financial reasons.

As indicated in the description of the sample (Section B above), only one of these women has a college degree, and the vast majority have little more training than a high school education. For most of them the major part of their employment history has been with their current employer (about half have never worked anywhere else), and all but one of them have stayed with the company because they felt the salary levels and benefits were the

best available to them given their level of education. The one exception is the Black woman who has a B.A. and who turned down better job offers because her husband didn't want to move out of town.

Using the estimates given by one or both spouses for their total family income, and checking women's estimates of their own income with the figures for salary ranges given us by the union, the proportion of the total family income provided by the wives/mothers' salaries for each family was computed (see Table 3). The range is from 28% of the total to 55% with most falling somewhere around the 50% level. It must be remembered, however, that these figures do not include the insurance, medical, and dental benefits provided for the whole family by the wives' jobs. Several of the women indicated the benefits were more important to the family than their salaries. This is especially true for the wives of the skilled blue collar workers and for two of the management-level men for whom no such benefits for the family are available through their jobs.

As all women in the sample stated, and their husbands corroborated, their working outside the home has been in the past--and in several cases is today--absolutely necessary for the family's economic well-being. For most of the couples, however, the importance of the wife's income to the family has become not so much for helping make ends meet in recent years, as their husbands' incomes have increased, but is important now for the maintenance of a life style that the families feel unwilling to give up. When asked whether they would continue working if their salaries and benefits were somehow provided to the family, most of the women said, no, they would not continue working.

Their husbands, when asked the same question, all indicated that they

would continue working, even if they were to begin their own businesses.

These response patterns suggest that women and men in the sample--as groups--view themselves differently in terms of their work outside the home. For almost all of the women, their identities seem less tied up with their employment than are those of their husbands. This can be observed in most of the families in the sample by looking at the work and families histories of both spouses. There appears to be an underlying assumption in most of these families, often stated explicitly by one or both spouses, that the jobs and working careers of the husbands are more important than those of their wives. "Important" here means two things: (1) that their identity is more tied up with working and providing a salary for their families and (2) that the husband must have the opportunity to pursue work outside the home which will provide him with fulfillment for the work itself, in addition to the financial benefits provided.

Evidence about the operation of this assumption can be found in a number of families in the sample where major decisions have been made by the spouses to move or not to move from one city to another, as an accommodation to the occupational goals of the husband. In a few cases, this has required wives to leave jobs they liked, or to take whatever job they could find in order to accommodate this goal--a response which no one in the sample ever questioned as being inappropriate. In addition, all but one one of the men with college degrees were able to pursue their education and their career goals because their wives were willing to work and help support them while they attended school.

The only woman with a college degree graduated before marrying her husband. Among the rest, half expressed a desire to go back to school

but had little hope that the family could make the adaptations or sacrifices.

This commonly expressed difference in the importance of and expectations about employment goals between wives and their husbands is related to the assertion of each and every one of the women that their families come first and their jobs second. Many women in the sample have been offered or have considered requesting promotions into supervisory positions. However, all say they rejected the idea because the sacrifices demanded by the greater pressures of the position would interfere with their family lives. The one woman with a college degree turned down better job offers because her husband was unwilling to move.

Often female respondents who are now, or were at one time very unhappy with their jobs, indicate that they have not left the company primarily because they are unlikely to earn the equivalent pay and benefits in other more emjoyable jobs elsewhere. This becomes even more the case after they have accrued some years of service with the company and reached higher levels of seniority.

These responses on the part of the women are of central importance to this study because only two women out of the 15 stated that they consistently enjoy their work. One of these, however, has recently become bored after her second year on the job and is thinking about a change. The remaining 13 women report that they are unhappy with the work they do and/or the conditions under which they do it. Most of those who are unhappy have spent years in these jobs, seven of them for six or more years and up to 13 years in the case of one Operator.

An examination of these patterns in the responses of the women should

not lead to the simple conclusion that women's expectations--or lack of expectations--about the employment possibilities available to them can explain the fact that most of them remain in jobs they do not like. Nor is it enough to dismiss this pattern and say that it is simply a reflection of some aspect of the personalities of these women which would allow them to stay in jobs they don't like for so long. Rather, there is abundant evidence in the popular scholarly literature to support their own assessments that their employment choices for good paying jobs are indeed limited given their gender and educational backgrounds. It seems safe to say that this fact is an objective condition of the labor market which affects all of the families in the sample.

An examination of the attitudes of husbands of these women towards their own jobs reveals a very different picture. Only two of the 14 husbands interviewed expressed strong dissatisfaction with their jobs. One of these is much younger than the others and is at the end of an unhappy tour with the armed services. Aside from mild complaints about certain aspects of their jobs, most of the men state they like the work that they do, and find it either interesting, rewarding, challenging, or at least pleasant. The work that the men do is widely divergent. It includes skilled blue collar jobs, low and middle level management for government and private industry, and professional level specialists for the government.

The rewards that the husbands find in their work vary, but at the very least they appear to include a sense of autonomy and the sense of pleasure in having learned to do their jobs. This pleasure, in general, appears not to be mitigated by the overly rigid supervision which most of their wives experience in their jobs.

Another interesting pattern appears in the men's career plans: all but three of them are thinking seriously about starting their own business, or are already involved in building one. Reasons cited by several men for the plan to be self-employed include (1) the eventual achievement of independence in their working situation, and (2) the reduction of their increasing tax burden. The most commonly cited advantage of an increased income was to give their wives the choice to stay at home if they wishes, rather than feeling they have to work.

For some men, the desire to have their own business is explicitly related to frustration with the demands of both spouses' jobs on their time at the expense of the family's time together. They feel that owning their business would alleviate this problem either by (1) involving their wives and themselves in an enterprise together, (2) by allowing their wives to take jobs which would be less demanding on their emotions or their time, or (3) by allowing their wives to stay at home.

However, for all but three of the 15 families, these plans are for the future and are not yet being implemented. These plans seem significant, in part, because of the sheer number of men who spoke of these plans and goals (11 out of 14 men interviewed). Although patterns among reasons given have not been fully examined, it seems clear that, in part, these plans reflect their concern about finding ways to accommodate the family's financial needs, their own desires for fulfillment in their work, and their images of what their ideal family life should be like.

The notable difference in the assessment of their current jobs between the women and men in the sample is reflected in the quantitative data as well. As discussed in the previous section (C. Quantitative Analysis of

Scale Scores) the men scored significantly higher than the women on the Autonomy subscale of the Work Environment Scale, while the women tended to score higher on the Work Pressure subscale of the Work Environment Scale.

This suggests that the women, in general, feel they have little autonomy and a great deal of pressure in their jobs, while the trend for their husbands' jobs is just the opposite. With only two exceptions, the wives salaries are either equal to or lower than their husbands. It is not surprising, then, given this combination of features, that most of the women perceive fewer rewards from their jobs than their husbands report for theirs. For these women, monetary rewards contribute little to the general satisfaction that these workers derive from their work. This further confirms this project's original assumption that a worker's feelings of autonomy is important to the intrinsic satisfaction that a person derives from work.

In this section, a summary of some of the more notable patterns observed in discussions with respondents about the relationship between work histories/ career plans and families have been introduced. A number of points about the interrelationship between jobs and families have been made: (1) generally, both the women and men in the sample assume, explicitly or implicitly, that fulfillment in their jobs is more important to the identity of husbands/ fathers than it is for wives; (2) most wives have made changes in their jobs and working careers to accommodate their husbands' career goals and/or their own view of the needs of their children/family; (3) almost all wives have been working full-time throughout their marriages (most for over 10 years) because of the financial needs of their families and all are still working

either to make ends meet or, in part, because they and their families have become accustomed to a certain life style; (4) most wives have remained for years in jobs they do not particularly like because they feel they could not receive the same level of salary and benefits elsewhere, given their relatively low level of education; (5) examination of the men's reactions to their jobs indicates that despite their diversity, they report generally higher levels of satisfaction with their work than do their wives, and this is supported by at least two measures in the Work Environment Scale--the Autonomy subscale and the Work Quality score; (6) finally, it has been noted that the majority of the men in the sample are starting, or have plans to start, businesses of their own, in part to provide their wives with a greater choice about whether or not to work outside the home.

The type of interrelatedness between jobs of families described here lies at the very heart of the exchange between these two realms of life: (1) how considerations of the relative importance of and demands of family lead to major decisions about which job or type of occupation one will pursue, and (2) how this differs for wives/mothers and husbands/fathers in this sample.

Before the discussion of the patterns observed in the lives of the families interviewed, a brief review of some of the features of the women's jobs which are the most constant and shared "objective" conditions influencing all the families in the sample will be presented.

2. General Work Conditions of Women

Features of the jobs most often discussed by the respondents include both positive and negative aspects. They are: (a) management style; (b) leave policies; (c) work schedules; and (d) salary and benefits.

a. Management Style

One of the most salient aspects of current employment experiences among women in the sample is the high pressured nature of their jobs. The pressure seems to be less significant for those two women in the "semi-skilled" category of jobs more akin to clerical positions. However, for the Operators, Service Order Writers, and Service Representatives, the pressure seems to come from three main sources: (1) the highly structured and repetitive nature of the work tasks; (2) the fast and rigidly enforced pace of the work; (3) the extremely close style of supervision of the workers, leaving them with--officially--almost no autonomy in decision-making and no control over the organization or content of their work.

Operators take one call after another all day, using phrases and even voice tones which are prescribed, at a pace determined by a computer, and with pressure to take a minimum number of calls per set time limit. Service Representatives, a higher paid and more skilled worker requiring at least three months training, answer the telephone to take orders and/or complaints about service, provide information about services, try to sell new services, in call after call in blocks of time throughout the day, at a fast and equally rigidly controlled pace, with predetermined phrases, and under pressure to meet sales quotas and handle a minimum number of calls per set unit of time.

Since none of these jobs are supervisory, the company's policy--according to our respondents--is that they must consult with their immediate supervisors when there is a decision to be made about procedure on a customer contact, record keeping, etc. Both Operators and Service Representatives attribute additional frustration and pressure to the common occurrence of supervisors

who are either uninformed or unavailable. This appears to be related to the generally negative emotional effects that the lack of autonomy and control have in work experiences described by respondents.

The emotional stress which their job placed on most of the women interviewed (reported in 13 out of 15 cases) attests to its importance. Furthermore, this stress is so extreme that most of them were aware of it as a very negative influence on their behavior at home. Their moods and feelings of frustration generated by their jobs found expression in the home and personal life of these women. How their families adapted to it and their own coping mechanisms constituted one of the main foci of the interviews.

b. Leave Policies

Another policy which adds to the pressure on women is a strict enforcement of penalties for tardiness; a small number of late arrivals will be placed on a worker's record. Furthermore, no more than three or four sick days are considered acceptable per year. After this, leave taken for short illnesses weighs negatively on employees' records, it can be used to deny them promotion and transfer opportunities, or even to build a case for dismissing an employee.

Difficulties encountered by most workers in getting time off to meet the everyday needs of their children was one of the problems most often mentioned by women interviewed. In particular, difficulties of getting time off when children are sick or need to go to the doctor was mentioned when women were asked specifically about the leave policies of the company. Although there is some flexibility on granting leave left to the discretion of supervisors, this issue was uniformly considered to be a major problem

for the families.

On the other hand, most women were appreciative of the six weeks paid maternity leave. Some cited examples of children born before this policy was instituted (through the union's efforts) and the problems created by much longer leaves without pay. If they felt they could afford to, most women took a longer leave than the paid period of six weeks, indicating the importance to them of the time at home with their newborn children.

No major complaints about the vacation leave policies were expressed. Vacation accrued starts at one week after six months of service and can go to as high as four weeks paid vacation a year. Because of high seniority, most mothers in the sample were able to choose when and for how long to take their vacation time, which allowed vacation to coincide with major events in their children's or families' calendars. The possibility of breaking up vacation into several short leaves appears convenient to mothers. This allows them to take time to meet their special needs, either personal or family-related.

c. Work Schedules

Two issues of scheduling of work hours were important to the women interviewed, and both had the greatest impact on the Operators. The first is the availability of various shifts and the second is the determination of days off.

Irregular hour shifts were often reported to be a major problem in the families' lives, either by having the mother work evenings so that she seldom saw her family or by causing her to leave or pass up a more desirable position in order to get out of an irregular (non 8 to 5) schedule. This regular schedule was the main reason given by several women for moving into

the Service Representative position, one which is strictly regular business hours.

The inconvenience caused by the irregular schedule, however, appears to be related to the age of the children and/or the willingness of the husband to care for them during the mother's absence. Two families found the "split shift" arrangement to be an advantage, because they could be home with their children part of the day and leave them in the care of the father for the early evening.

The second issue of work schedules is the "days off" policy for Operators. Days off are determined bi-weekly by a computer taking into account the available work force and the expected demands for service. This results in a near random pattern of days off, which can come at any time during the week. In consequence, families, and especially the adults, cannot plan to attend events determined in advance. Those activities that can be arranged by the couple have to be planned with only one week's advance notice. One couple in the sample complained of not having had a weekend off together in eight years due to her operator schedule and the overtime demands of his job. Others spoke of frequent arguments with husbands concerning which parent should try to get out of work to babysit for the children on weekends. Finally, some mentioned the loss of regular contact with friends and relatives because of the difficulty of attending social events and planning them around their irregular days off.

d. Salaries and Benefits

The salary ranges and the importance placed by the women on their salaries and benefits have been already discussed. The majority of the men and women interviewed gave much credit for the comfortable income levels

they had been able to achieve to the wives' good salaries and benefits. This was more consistently the feeling of the minority parents. This suggests a greater awareness of the negative effects of poverty on families. The minority parents often expressed the opinion that the advantages of having good jobs and sufficient income improved their family life and enhanced their children's opportunities for the future.

Clearly for both spouses in all the families, the most desirable aspect of the wives' jobs are the salaries and the benefits.

3. Work and Image of the Ideal Family

The description of jobs and work policies discussed in the preceeding section should serve as context for examination of those concerns that are central to this research, namely relationships that exist between work and family life.

The first step in the analysis, using the data from the first half of the sample (n = 15 families) involved examining those segments of the interviews coded as pertaining to "Work/Family Interrelatedness." What has emerged from this analysis is a working construct, called "the image of the ideal family," or for short, the family image. This construct is posited as underlying much of what participants in the study strive for, worry about and argue over. This image does not appear in the data as an abstract ideal explicitly described by respondents. Rather, based upon our preliminary examination of the data, it is inferred from a composite picture of family life developed from goals and standards by which spouses and parents judge themselves and each other in their everyday decisions and discussions. For example, it became clear after examining the transcripts of two interviews with one mother, that her expressed frustrations

and explanations for a range of behaviors were predicated on two related assumptions: (1) that both parents should spend a great deal of time with their children; and (2) that a good mother should be home to supervise and direct the activities of her children during the day. This standard was not met, in her judgment, by either herself or her husband. The husband, on the other hand, felt that they both spent sufficient time with their children, more than his own father had ever spent with him. Furthermore, he reasoned, while it would be ideally better for the family if his wife stayed home, in reality it didn't make a great deal of difference that she didn't.

The next step in the analysis was a systematic review of the pertinent segments of the interviews for each family. Transcribed data were examined from each family in a search for the nature of the underlying family image. By looking at the interviews with husband and wife, each family was categorized by whether spouses seem to share a similar image or to have divergent images. The specific contents varied from family to family, but the two most central issues seemed to be (1) whether or not they felt strongly that the mother should stay at home with the children, and (2) how much time both parents, particularly the father, should spend with his children and in family activities in general.

Judgments were made by the research staff after a preliminary examination of the data independently and arriving at consensus in case of doubts, and are presented in Table 6. The first column, labeled "Ethnicity" identifies each case with a number and a code for ethnicity. Cases are grouped by ethnicity, and listed randomly within groups. The second column, labeled "Share Image," indicates whether or not the couple was judged to share a

Table 6

JUDGEMENTS OF FAMILY IMAGE SHARING AND TASK SHARING

		Spouse	Share Image	Mother at Home	Share Tasks
ANGLO FAMILIES (1-5)	1.	Husband	-	-	-
		Wife		+	
	2.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
	3.	Husband	+	+	+
		Wife		+	
	4.	Husband	+	+	+
		Wife		+	
	5.	Husband	+	+	-
		Wife		+	
MEXICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES (6-10)	6.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
	7.	Husband	+	+	-
		Wife		+	
	8.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
	9.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
	10.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
BLACK FAMILIES (11-15)	11.	Husband	-	-	-
		Wife		+	
	12.	Husband	-	-	-
		Wife		+	
	13.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	
	14.	Husband	-	+	-
		Wife		-	
	15.	Husband	+	-	+
		Wife		-	

similar image of the ideal family (+ = Shares; - = Does not Share). The third column, labeled "Mother at Home," indicates whether the parents strongly believe that the mother should stay home with her children (+ = Should Stay Home; - = Not Necessary to Stay Home). In cases where there is disagreement between spouses, the code is +/-. The fourth and last column, labeled "Share Tasks," is an indication of whether or not the husband shares significantly in the family tasks of child care and housekeeping (+ = Shares; - = Does Not). Judgments in the last column are based on both husbands' and wives' responses to specific questions in the interviews about task allocation and sharing. In all of these cases there was agreement between the independent responses of both husbands and wives about the level of participation of husbands in domestic tasks.

The data presented in the second column of Table 6 reveal that only four out of the 15 couples were judged by the research staff as having images of the ideal family in which there were discrepancies between spouses. Data in column three indicates that neither women nor men were more likely to hold strongly to the belief that the mother should stay home with her children. In effect, all four possible combinations were represented in the sample. For four couples, both spouses agree that the mother should be at home, and for seven couples, both agree that it is not necessary. With respect to the remaining couples, either the husband or the wife holds that belief. In all cases in our sample, it must be remembered, the wives do not stay home with their children during the day, although at least two mothers currently juggle their schedules to maximize the amount of time that they have available with their children, to some extent at the expense of time available with their husbands.

The data in Table 6 indicates some differences in patterns of response among ethnic groups. All five Mexican American couples agree in their image of the family, but only one of these couples believes that the mother should stay home with the children. Four of the five Anglo couples agree on their image of the family. The one exception (a husband) indicated that it isn't important that the mother stay at home. However, his wife, along with the other three couples, believes that the wife should stay home with her children. The only Anglo woman that does not believe that it is important for the mother to stay at home reports that she has come to this conclusion as a result of her own experience as a working mother. Both she and her husband believe that what is more important is the time that both parents devote to the children and to other family pursuits.

Among the Black couples, only two of the five were judged to agree on their family image, and in neither case does that image include the belief that the mother should stay home with the children. Of the three couples which were classified as not sharing a common image of the family, two disagree on the desirability of the mother staying home. Of the five Black mothers, only two believed that the mother should stay home, but in both cases other aspects of their family image were in conflict.

The fourth column in Table 6 presents the judgments made about the level of participation by husbands in domestic tasks of housekeeping and child care. Six of the fifteen husbands were judged by themselves and their wives as not participating significantly in domestic tasks. Four of those six husbands who do not share tasks were also found not to share a common image of the family with their wives. These four families can be

described as having a relatively high level of conflict and disagreements reflected in several aspects of their family life.

The two cases where there is no sharing of domestic tasks in couples even though the couple shares a common family image deserve further examination. Both couples, one Anglo and one Mexican American, share the belief that the wife should stay home with the children. In fact, both husbands have taken a second job, in part, they say, to make enough money to allow their wives to stay home. Their additional work occupies nights and weekends, so in effect their time is preempted. Since both couples agree that the husband's work and career is more important, the wives do not report conflict over their lack of participation. The adaptation that they have made has been to lower their housekeeping standards. Still, both women report very high levels of tension in facing the dilemmas of their two very demanding jobs--the one at home and the one with the company.

For the nine couples where there is a significant level of participation by the husband in domestic tasks, there appears to be a greater agreement between spouses on the importance of time spent with children and in other joint family activities. This basic agreement seems to facilitate the sharing of work in the home, and is more important to the actual work sharing behavior of parents than the fact that most respondents (men and women) in the sample hold relatively "traditional" views about men's and women's roles in the family and in the world of work.

Most of the men and women interviewed share to some degree the traditional view that (1) men's fulfillment in their jobs is more important than women's; (2) ideally mothers should stay home with their children; and (3) family comes before job in the hierarchy of values of women. Nevertheless,

more than half of these families appear to have come to an adjustment to the realities of the situation. The key factors in this adjustment (one that always requires greater task sharing between spouses) appears to be a shared emphasis on the importance of family life relative to one's work life, a shared image of what family life should be like, and recognition on the part of both spouses of the importance of the mother's income contribution to the achievement of the desired family goals.

It is in those families where there is limited task sharing that mothers often worry about compromising their ideals of child rearing, feel greater guilt over not spending more time with their children, and feel that their job-related moods have a greater and more negative effect on their family relations, an assessment often shared by their husbands as reported in their separate interviews.

An original assumption underlying this project, that the nature of the jobs of wives/mothers would have an important influence on their family roles, has been expanded by our analysis. It appears that for the families in our sample a major intervening variable influencing the effect of women and men's jobs on parental roles is the degree to which spouses have been able to reach agreement on the image of the ideal family, and in particular on the value they place on their family relative to their work. For example, resource theory would predict that in these families--since wives report relatively low satisfaction and rewards from their jobs as compared to their husbands--that they would have less power than their husbands and that therefore work sharing in the home would be minimal. The patterns reported here suggest that a shared and balanced evaluation of family life between spouses provides a shared basis of power within the family which differences

in the nature of their jobs do not necessarily alter.

When the image of the family is shared by spouses it appears that a basis for negotiation is established, and this is associated in our sample with greater task sharing. Although most of the families in the sample maintain their traditional view of gender roles, the shared image contains an acceptance of the idea that children are just as well off even if the mother works all day, and the notion that both fathers and mothers must be involved in the everyday care of their children in order to meet their needs.

Mothers and fathers who evaluate themselves or each other negatively or who express guilt feelings about not being home enough seem to do so as part of broader, and more basic conflicts. These include a father unfulfilled in his career, and others who have become so involved in their work and careers that they have come to put their own personal desires and goals above those for their families.

What these preliminary observations suggest is that the father's job and his attitudes toward his job and family have an equally important effect on family relations as those of the mother. Indeed, in this sample, because of the relatively homogeneous character of women's jobs and work attitudes, the variation in the husbands' jobs and work attitudes accounts for more of the variation in the family relationships than those of the wives.

In concluding this presentation of some preliminary analyses, it is important to note that the construct "image of the ideal family" is not proposed as a device to imply or infer causality. Rather, at this stage of the analytical process, it is a convenient way to conceptualize issues

which emerged as important to spouses in all families, and to compare within each family the goals and standards that each used to measure themselves and their families. At this point, it appears to be useful in the examination of a limited range of relationships in the families. Additional analyses are being conducted, which link these images to other critical domains of family life, such as parenting practices, values and goals, and more generally to the socialization of children. An attempt will be made to develop some typologies based on these images and other constructs that may emerge in the analysis process.

The following section presents a brief summary of additional aspects of the ongoing analysis of data.

E. Ongoing Analysis

It is premature to discuss any real significance of "findings" at this point in the analysis of the first year's data, and before the second half of the sample is selected. As it has been previously pointed out, the focus for analysis of interviews thus far has been limited to relationships between spouses/parents, and has not yet explored the specific ways in which parents' job experiences influence behavior with their children and their views about childrearing. Patterns of parental practices can be understood as mediated by the parents' agreement/non-agreement on what has been referred to as the "image of the ideal family."

The analysis is currently being broadened to include a search for patterns in how parents approach childrearing, as well as a closer examination of several clearly important types of job/family influences. The first type is a carry-over of values encouraged on the job to parental values in the home. For example, from the interviews it is clear that some

women are consciously applying ideas and techniques learned from their work experiences to the socialization of their children. Specifically, two Mexican American mothers have felt that their upbringing led them to be insufficiently assertive on their jobs, so they are modifying their own parents' approach and encouraging assertiveness in their own children.

One working hypotheses being explored is that women who are Service Representatives, a job which requires greater assertiveness and is a more complex and demanding job than others held by women respondents, more consistently encourage these behaviors in their children than do women with less demanding jobs.

A second type of job/family influence that is important for this sample is the influence of work schedules and daily leave policies. Most fathers' jobs have more flexible leave policies than their wives, and in these cases fathers tend to take over more of the child care duties such as visits to the doctor, to the children's school, etc. Another question suggested by the interviews deals with the differential effects of only partially overlapping work schedules for spouses (here called "complementary schedules") on parental roles, as compared to congruent or shared work schedules (i.e., both parents work 8 to 5, have same days off). A working hypothesis is that complementary schedules and more flexible leave policies for fathers force them into a greater sharing of parental duties and responsibilities.

A third important job/family influence in our sample has been the effect of job-related moods on the behavior of each parent at home. The most obvious effect of these mothers' job-related stress is reported in their behavior with the children, including lack of patience and greater

lenience due to feelings of guilt about their absence from the home. The analysis continues to search for patterns in responses of husbands and children, as well as the mothers, to this reality. It is becoming more apparent that in the current sample women and men respond differently to stress on the job. Women report that they find it much more difficult to keep their job-related moods from influencing their family relations than men do. Men appear to be more likely to indicate that they keep their work separate them their family life, and their wives corroborate this. The implications of this are unclear at present and are being examined further. It seems reasonable to relate the differences in men's and women's abilities to keep work and family moods separate to the much greater stress of the women's jobs. However, none of the couples actually ascribe the differences in their responses to work to the differences in their jobs. Most appear to assume that the differences in work-related moods of men and women in the home are due to inherent differences between men and women or to individual personality differences. This assumption, in turn, appears to lead mothers, and often their husbands, to judge themselves more harshly as parents. The common expression is that "the mother lacks patience." This question can be explored more systematically in additional interviews with families in which mothers hold jobs that are not so stressful and unrewarding.

It has also become clear in the course of the analysis that in order to understand the nature of the influence of workplace policies on the family roles of workers, a systems theory approach must be used. For example, can families be categorized in a typology according to how they respond to influences, pressures and changes from diverse external insti-

tutions, such as the workplace, child care and educational institutions? Some families appear very open to influences from and relationships with external systems, while other families do it selectively and others not at all.

In order to develop confidence in the hypotheses offered about job influences on family roles, the analysis must take into account the possible mediating role of the "image of the ideal family" as a blueprint which guides family life and controls the relationships that individuals within the family maintain with influential external systems such as the work places of each spouse.

Finally, the relationship between the interview data and the quantitative data provided by the Scales remains to be clarified. The preliminary findings reported for the Scales earlier are for the most part supportive of the interpretations of the interview data. Most of the information obtained in the Scales is statistically significant for making preliminary inferences about groups (e.g., Operators, all women, all men). However, individual scores, when examined and compared with what is known about the family from the interview data, at times appear to be contradictory with the interview data. The problem may be related to the fact that, in order to enhance the likelihood that respondents would fill out and return the Scales, it was decided to use the Short Form of the Scales, rather than the long form with twice as many items contributing to each subscale score. This process tends to decrease the reliability of the Scale scores, since they are based on fewer items. At this point, plans are being made to examine the psychometric characteristics of the Scales, with the aim of devising composite scores by combining scales and thus increasing the re-

liability of those scores.

There are two different uses anticipated for the Scale scores. The first involves using the scores to test hypotheses derived from the examination of the qualitative information. For example, couples who share a common "image of the ideal family" can be compared to determine if they also share a common perception of their families as portrayed in the profiles generated by the Family Environment Scale.

The second use involves using the scores in one or more of the scales to classify individuals or families and then examine a particular aspect of their family life or values expressed in the interviews. This way, quantitative information can aid the determination of similarities or differences in areas that are not covered by the Scales but which can be linked theoretically or conceptually. For example, scores on the Scales for Achievement Orientation, Organization and Control could be linked to specific parenting practices or values. Similarly, scales describing characteristics of work environments can be used to focus the examination of interview data.

The preliminary findings reported earlier give some credibility to the information obtained with the quantitative scales <u>because</u> they seem to agree or confirm the much richer and in-depth information that the interviews provide. Naturally, greater validity and reliability must be expected from the interview data, given the depth and scope of the three interview sessions conducted with each family.

V. ACTIVITIES AND TIMELINES FOR PHASE II

The timelines and estimation of the duration for major activities in year two of this study are presented below. The activities described have been prepared at a time when project funding level is not final. Fifteen additional families will be selected in order to meet the total sample goal of 30 families. The ethnic diversity will be maintained, but some adjustment is contemplated in the other major variable of the sample design, job skill levels. The introduction to the Second Phase Activities presents (A) a rationale for changes in the sampling criteria, (B) a discussion of options for alternative activities, and finally (C) the major activities, and (D) timelines.

A. Changes in Sample Design

The preliminary findings from the first phase of the study indicate the need to reassess the original sample design. During Phase I interviews, it has become apparent that the choice of "skilled" and "unskilled" jobs from one workplace does not, in and of itself, operationalize the variables of autonomy, supervision and wages. Although the jobs sampled differ significantly in terms of (1) skills required for their performance, (2) length of the training required, and (3) starting wages they pay, these differences were not strongly associated, as it was expected, with greater autonomy and less direct supervision and control for the high skill jobs. The fact of the matter is that in the particular workplace from which the Phase I sample was drawn, there is an overriding style of management and organization of work which is inimical to autonomy, self-direction, and independent decision-making even for regular, routine everyday activities. Most of the jobs are highly regimented, routinized, timed and controlled.

With respect to wages, differences in income expected to be associated with the jobs sampled, were in practice reduced by (1) the use of overtime, (2) frequent six-day weeks during peak work periods, and (3) the use of leave without pay during low work periods. Thus, the average annual income reported by "high skill" women was only about $1,000 a year higher than the average income reported by "unskilled" women. Part of the reason for this is a built-in bias in the sample, imposed by the requirement that there be school-age children in the family. This tended to draw the "old timers," (women with a long career of work for the company), which are likely to be in the top of the salary scale for their jobs, and have enough seniority to opt for overtime when needed or leave without pay whenever it was to their advantage.

One final observation is about the particular nature of all the jobs sampled. All the workers interviewed are covered by the contract negotiated by their union. Although not all the interviewees were dues paying members of the union, many of them related opportunities in which they had been forced to call on the union representatives to mediate in a dispute with supervisors and managers. The participation of the union in the grievance procedure is a safeguard that this group of workers enjoy and it sets them apart from the majority of workers in Texas. The union does not always get top ratings for its performance. However, it still represents a force that is recognized and respected by managers and supervisors. And of course, the union is a major influence in the salary scale and benefits.

In summary, the women sampled for Phase I of the study do not present a significant variation in those characteristics that were originally proposed.

What findings to date suggest, instead, is first, the importance to workers and their families of the management style and work pressure built into jobs, and second, the importance of company-wide policies that directly affect the ability of workers to meet their family needs, such as: (1) leave policies, both short term and long term, including vacation, holidays, sick leave, maternity leave and disability leave; (2) work schedules, including daily and weekly schedules (days off policies); (3) seniority, transfer and promotion policies; and (4) wages and benefits.

In consequence, it becomes more important and interesting to contrast the adaptations of these female workers and their families with another sample of female workers of similar education and skills but who work for a different kind of organization or industry, where there are different management and personnel policies operating. Some preliminary criteria can be advanced at this point. First, the source of subjects should be a relatively large organization, one which has a variety of jobs and skill levels, and a work force that includes Black, Mexican-American and Anglo female workers in sufficient numbers. Second, this organization should be characterized by a style of management, supervision and personnel policies which contrast clearly with the high pressure, low autonomy, and close supervision which characterized the workplace of the sample for Phase I. Third, the organization selected should have well defined policies in the areas of leave, transfer and promotion. Fourth, the workers should not be unionized. This latter criteria is relatively easy to meet, since there are few influential unions in Texas. This will most likely result in relatively lower wages, salaries and benefits. Based on information currently available, the following organizations are being considered as possible

workplaces which have employees with characteristics deemed necessary for this study:

(1) Internal Revenue Service Regional Center,

(2) Austin National Bank,

(3) American Bank,

(4) three other large banks,

(5) Municipal Government,

(6) The University of Texas,

(7) State Comptroller of Public Accounts,

(8) Human Resources Department,

(9) U. S. Agriculture Department,

(10) County Government.

The selection of women workers from one or more of these organizations would provide the necessary contrast with the organization from which the first sample was obtained.

Activating local contacts and gathering the necessary information about these agencies and organizations are among the first activities to be undertaken for the next phase. Knowledge of management and personnel policies, together with work force composition and job structure, will allow decisions to be made about which organization(s) to approach in order to obtain their cooperation for sampling purposes.

B. Optional Dissemination Activities

From this project's inception, the goals of the research have been both to contribute to theory and the research base concerning families and parents, and to provide policy planning information for programs and

institutions serving families to become more sensitive to their needs, especially those of parents. The shift in sampling criteria for Phase II, previously described, places more emphasis on the examination of the effect of specific workplace policies on family life. This is designed to enhance the project's relevance to employers, unions and other organizations concerned with the well-being of workers and families.

The commitment by staff to disseminating research findings to appropriate organizations has led to an expansion of plans for activities during Phase II of the project. While plans are tentative, and are contingent on discussions with the NIE Project Officer, a preliminary discussion of them is presented in the following paragraphs.

As a result of contacts made with local organizations during Phase I activities, project staff have become aware of many local and statewide organizations concerned with issues affecting female workers and families. In addition, staff have (1) attended a national conference concerning the private sector's role in providing services to families, and (2) obtained potentially useful audio materials on this issue from one of the plenary sessions.

The contacts have provided staff with an awareness of the widespread interest of programs and organizations in relevant research. In particular, interest and extent of cooperation on the part of Communication Workers of America with regard to securing the sample for this study has been instrumental in linking the project to fundamental concerns of such organizations.

As a result, project plans are to explore the possibilities of conducting a workshop to be presented possibly in conjunction with specialists from the union, employers, and/or other interested organizations. The goal

would be to help employers and local policy makers become more aware of findings from this and other projects and their relationship to the needs of two-working parent families.

These plans are tentative, and must be weighed against the advantages of the in-depth case studies with several sample families, originally proposed as a Phase II activity. Factors which must be taken into consideration include (1) the interest demonstrated for the idea by the union and other organizations, and (2) the response of appropriate NIE officials to the substitution of these activities for the case studies. It is assumed that the expansion of dissemination activities would require the elimination of the case studies phase of the research because of the time required in conceptualizing, organizing, and presenting the workshops in addition to the regular presentations of findings at national meetings.

C. Phase II Major Activities

The major activities carrying out the second phase of the study will be discussed briefly in this section. They are: (1) to identify and secure an appropriate sample of families, (2) to modify necessary instruments, (3) to select and train temporary interviewers, (4) to collect the data, (5) to analyze the data, and (6) to report and disseminate findings, conclusions and recommendations to appropriate audiences.

Activity 1. Identify and Secure Sample of Families

In order to complete the sampling goal of 30 families, 15 additional families must be located and committed to participate in the study. The main criteria for the sample has already been discussed in the previous section. Based on the experience from the first phase, it is advisable to explore and negotiate simultaneously with more than one agency or organiza-

tion. There are different policies in effect regarding access to employees. The potential benefit and harm to the organization must be taken into account during the negotiations, and an assessment of the actual availability of suitable subjects must be determined early. Furthermore, the interests of potential subjects must also be taken into account. The modest stipend for participating families should prove to be even more important during these uncertain times.

Negotiations with potential sources will include the design of a procedure to contact subjects in a manner that insures their freedom to refuse to participate without a stigma, and to participate, if they choose to do so, without fear of lack of confidentiality regarding the information provided.

Finally, contingency plans must be developed for the possibility that organizational cooperation is insufficient or too slow. Alternatives include "snowball sampling" (e.g., one subject leading researchers to other potential subjects) by using contacts at the individual level to generate other family referrals. This method proved effective during our Phase I sampling period. In any case, the sampling criteria and sampling quotas by ethnicity will be maintained.

Activity 2. Develop and/or Modify Necessary Instruments

No major instrument development is contemplated for this phase. The appropriateness and quality of the interview schedules developed during the first phase have been established. Some minor adaptations will be made in the questions relating to work, based on what is learned in advance of the interviews about the working conditions in particular companies.

Both the Work Environment Scale and the Family Environment Scale (Moos, 1974) will continue to be used. However, examination of their psychometric

characteristics, to be undertaken during this phase, is expected to lead to the development of composite scores based on items already part of the scales. Thus, administration of the questionnaires will be similar to Phase I, but the scoring may be modified.

Finally, if the In-depth Case Studies option is chosen, it will be necessary to develop interview schedules based on information available for the families selected.

Activity 3. Select and Train Temporary Interviewers

The desire to match female interviewers with female respondents by ethnicity will necessitate the hiring and training of two temporary interviewers at the appropriate time--one Black female and one Mexican-American female. The procedures used during Phase I proved to be very effective and will be repeated during Phase II. It is possible that one of the temporary interviewers from Phase I will continue her participation for a second year, thereby reducing the time required for training.

Activity 4. Collect the Data

No major changes are anticipated in the procedures for collecting data from each family. The brief initial "get acquainted" visit proved to be worthwhile. It was designed to facilitate the communication of research goals and to stimulate the same level of interest for participating in the study by both spouses. Greater care will be taken in collecting quantitative information, such as age, years of study after high school, income, relative contribution of each spouse, years on the job, length of maternity leaves or unemployment periods, etc. in a separate sheet at the time of initial contact. This was not done consistently by all interviewers and resulted in a loss of time for gleaning these data from transcripts. In

addition, greater care will be taken to insure the comparability of the instructions for the Work and Family Environment Scales. Subjects will fill out the forms in the presence of the interviewer to help insure prompt return of the completed forms.

Using the experience gained during the first year, a more expedient process for summary, transcription and coding of interview material will be implemented. Improved storage and retrieval of coded material will facilitate access to data for testing hypotheses and analysis.

Activity 5. Analysis of Data

As has been pointed out throughout this report, the constant comparative method of analysis requires the formulation of a hypothesis about relationships within the data, then a return to the data to investigate the hypothesis, followed by a broadening or alteration of the hypothesis as a result of a greater familiarity with the data. The coding of interview transcripts was designed to facilitate this process by uniting disparate statements or passages from the interviews under the major topic areas of interest in the research, for example "parenting related comments."

The preliminary findings of a limited part of the data presented in this report form the basis of a continuing expansion of the analysis to include the area of parenting practices and values, and the major types of job/family exchanges influencing these practices.

During the Phase II period, the early months and the later months will have the heaviest concentration of analysis of qualitative data. During the months of December and January, the analysis of the first year's data will be expanded and refined. Toward the end of the data collection phase of the second half of the sample, in July and August, a second period of

intensified analysis will begin. However, as data from the second year are being collected and coded, informal and ongoing analysis will continue as interviewers exchange observations about the families they are familiar with.

The quantitative data is slated for analysis during the same periods, so that the relationships between the different types of data can be explored and used to reinforce confidence in the analysis.

Activity 6. Reporting and Dissemination

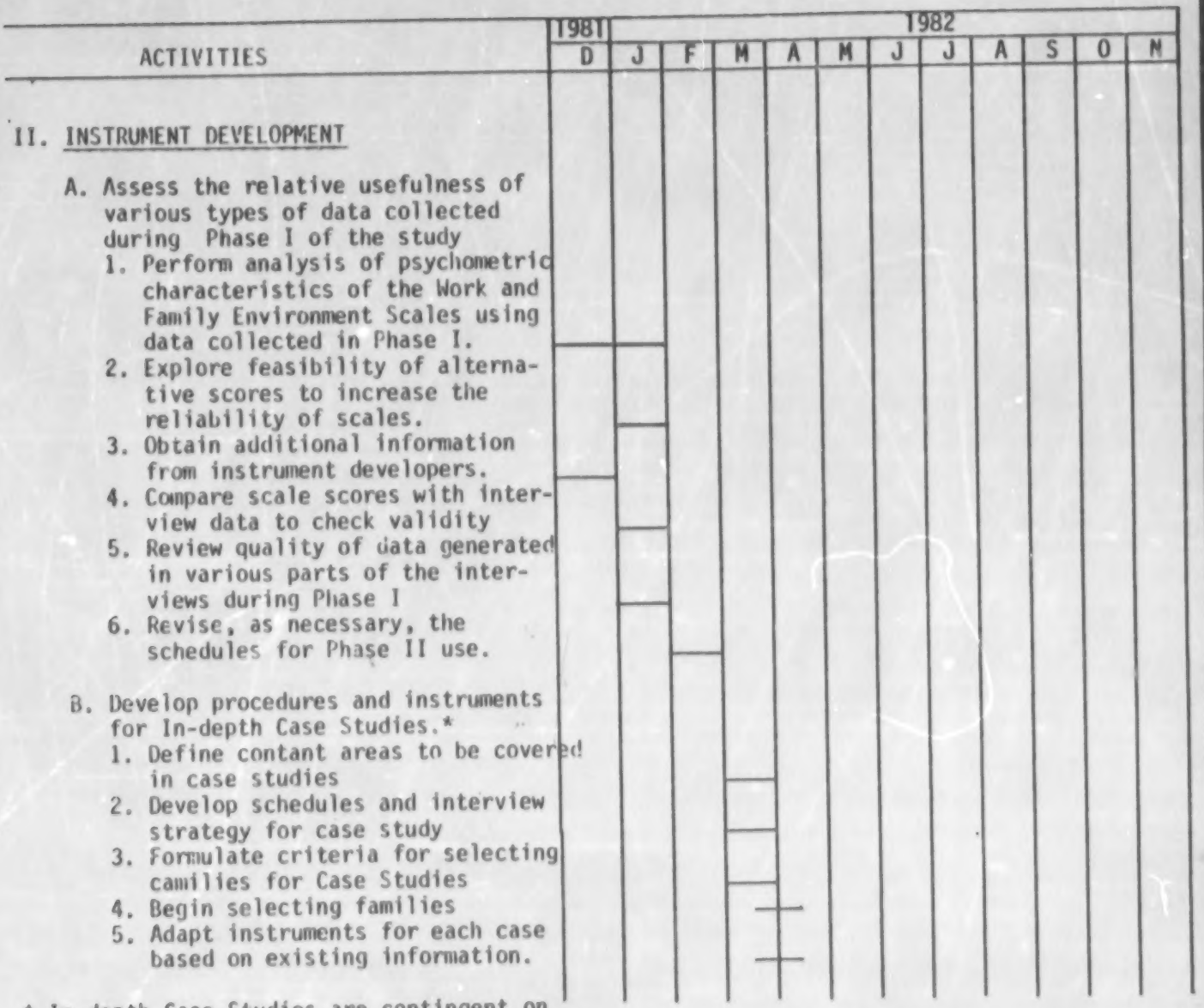
Presentations of findings are already planned at two levels: First, the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in New York in March, and second, at a regional meeting of the Texas Council on Family Relations, a special Symposium on "The Dual-earner Family" in September, 1982. The interim reports will contain information pertaining to the progress of these research activities, and the final report will put together the findings from the two phases, comparing both samples and ethnic groups as well.

An innovative dissemination strategy considered as an option has already been discussed under "B. Optional Dissemination Activities."

D. Timelines and Specific Activities

Specific activities anticipated under each Major Activity are listed in the following pages, with their timing and estimated duration.

ACTIVITIES	1981 D	1982 J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N
I. IDENTIFICATION OF SAMPLE												
A. Collect information about agencies and organizations												
1. Identify key contacts												
2. Set up appointments with them												
3. Explain project goals												
4. Get information about policies												
5. Get information about labor force												
6. Rank potential sources												
7. Negotiate access to employees for initial screening.												
B. Develop Subject Referral Procedure for cooperating agency(ies)												
1. Identify contact person(s)												
2. Revise appropriate forms , such as brochure about research goals, conditions, stipend, etc.												
C. Develop contingency plan to secure subjects in the event of insufficient agency cooperation and/or efficacy.												
1. Develop key contacts at the employee level												
2. Prepare direct appeals for help to be posted												
3. Prepare media release(s)												


ACTIVITIES
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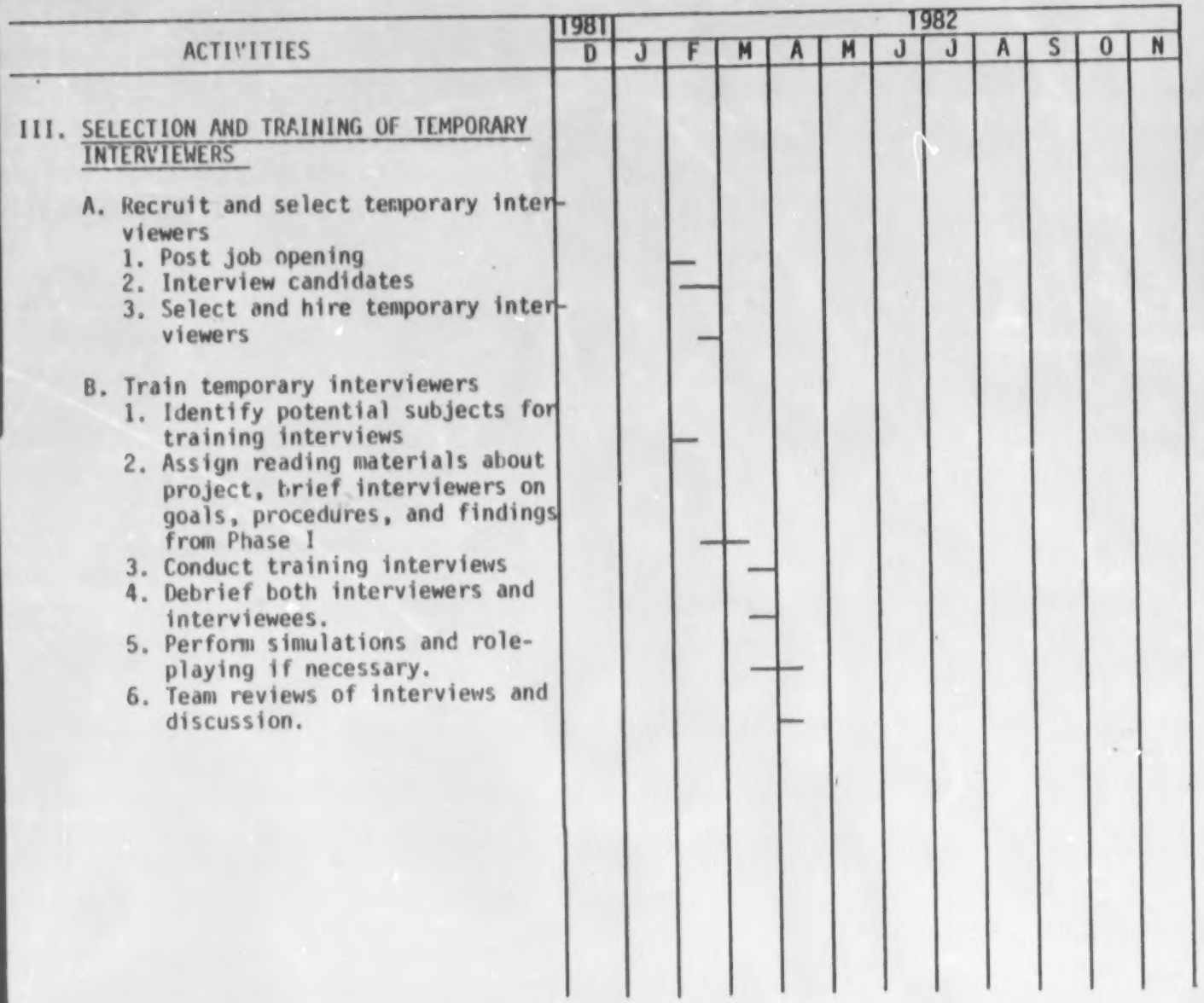
II. INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT
A. Assess the relative usefulness of various types of data collected during Phase I of the study
1. Perform analysis of psychometric characteristics of the Work and Family Environment Scales using data collected in Phase I.
2. Explore feasibility of alternative scores to increase the reliability of scales.
3. Obtain additional information from instrument developers.
4. Compare scale scores with interview data to check validity
5. Review quality of data generated in various parts of the interviews during Phase I
6. Revise, as necessary, the schedules for Phase II use.
B. Develop procedures and instruments for In-depth Case Studies.*
1. Define contant areas to be covered in case studies
2. Develop schedules and interview strategy for case study
3. Formulate criteria for selecting camilies for Case Studies
4. Begin selecting families
5. Adapt instruments for each case based on existing information.

* In-depth Case Studies are contingent on consultation with Project Officer


ACTIVITIES
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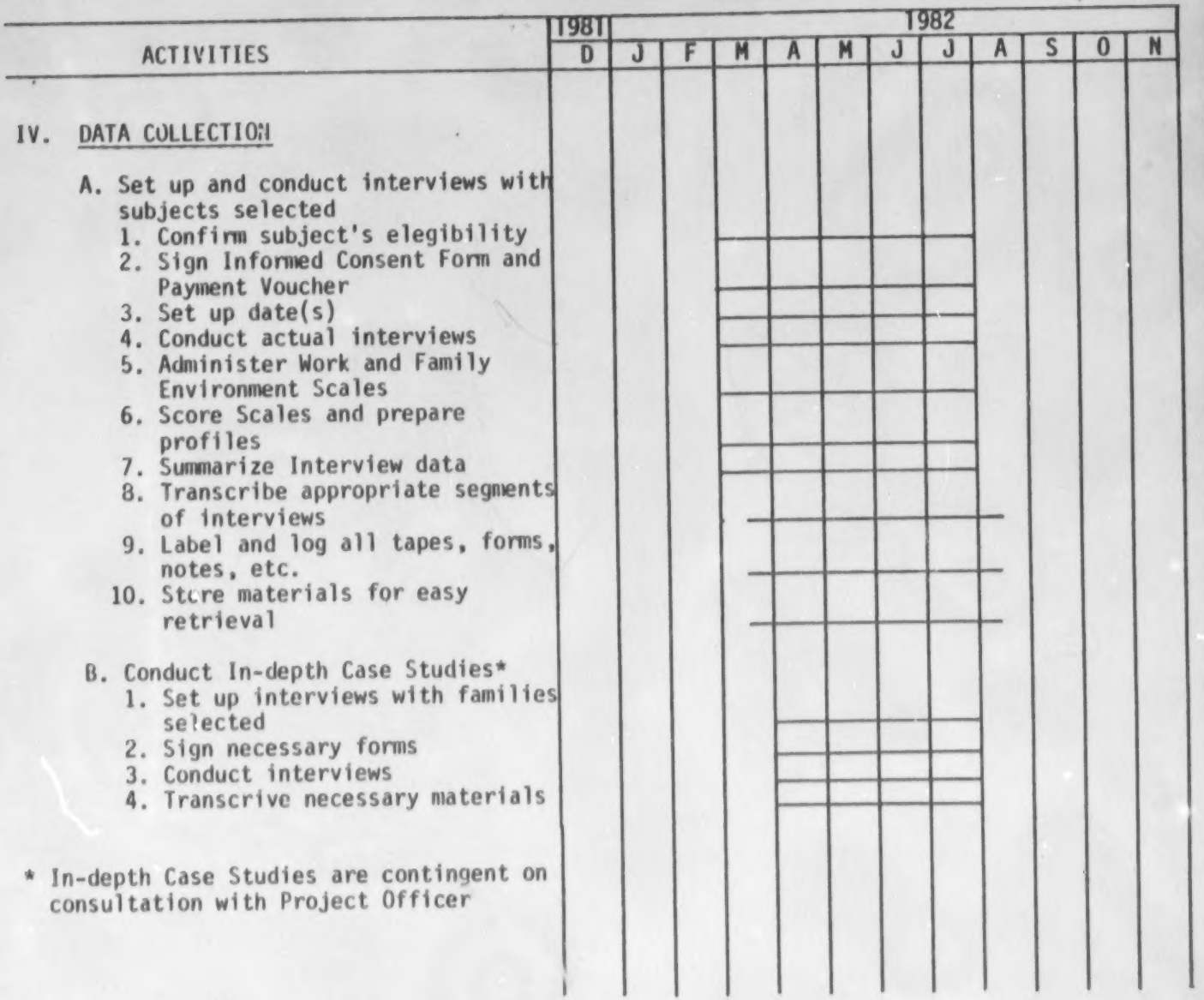
III. SELECTION AND TRAINING OF TEMPORARY INTERVIEWERS
A. Recruit and select temporary interviewers
1. Post job opening
2. Interview candidates
3. Select and hire temporary interviewers
B. Train temporary interviewers
1. Identify potential subjects for training interviews
2. Assign reading materials about project, brief interviewers on goals, procedures, and findings from Phase I
3. Conduct training interviews
4. Debrief both interviewers and interviewees.
5. Perform simulations and role-playing if necessary.
6. Team reviews of interviews and discussion.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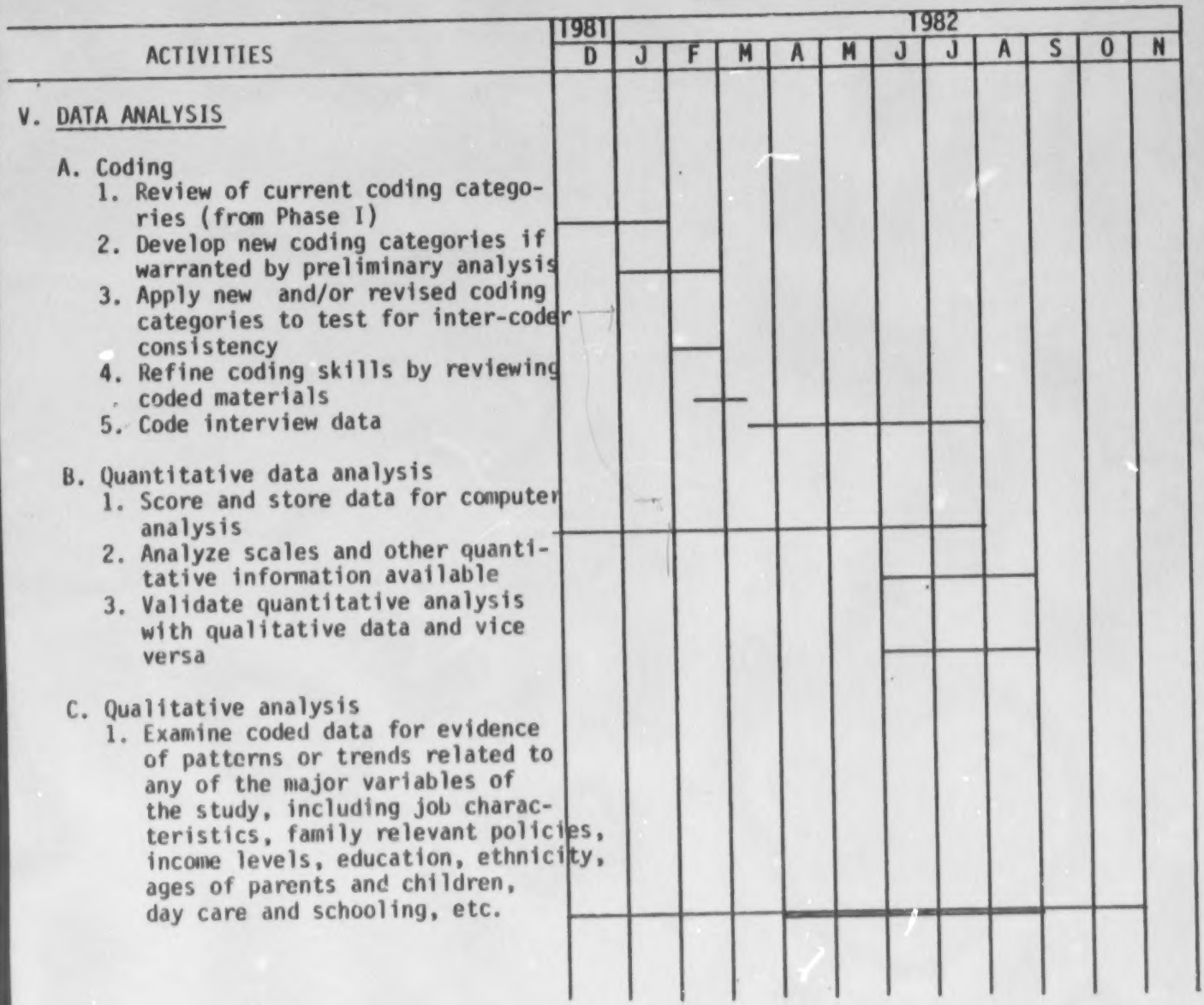
IV. DATA COLLECTION
A. Set up and conduct interviews with subjects selected
1. Confirm subject's elegibility
2. Sign Informed Consent Form and Payment Voucher
3. Set up date(s)
4. Conduct actual interviews
5. Administer Work and Family Environment Scales
6. Score Scales and prepare profiles
7. Summarize Interview data
8. Transcribe appropriate segments of interviews
9. Label and log all tapes, forms, notes, etc.
10. Store materials for easy retrieval
B. Conduct In-depth Case Studies*
1. Set up interviews with families selected
2. Sign necessary forms
3. Conduct interviews
4. Transcrive necessary materials
* In-depth Case Studies are contingent on consultation with Project Officer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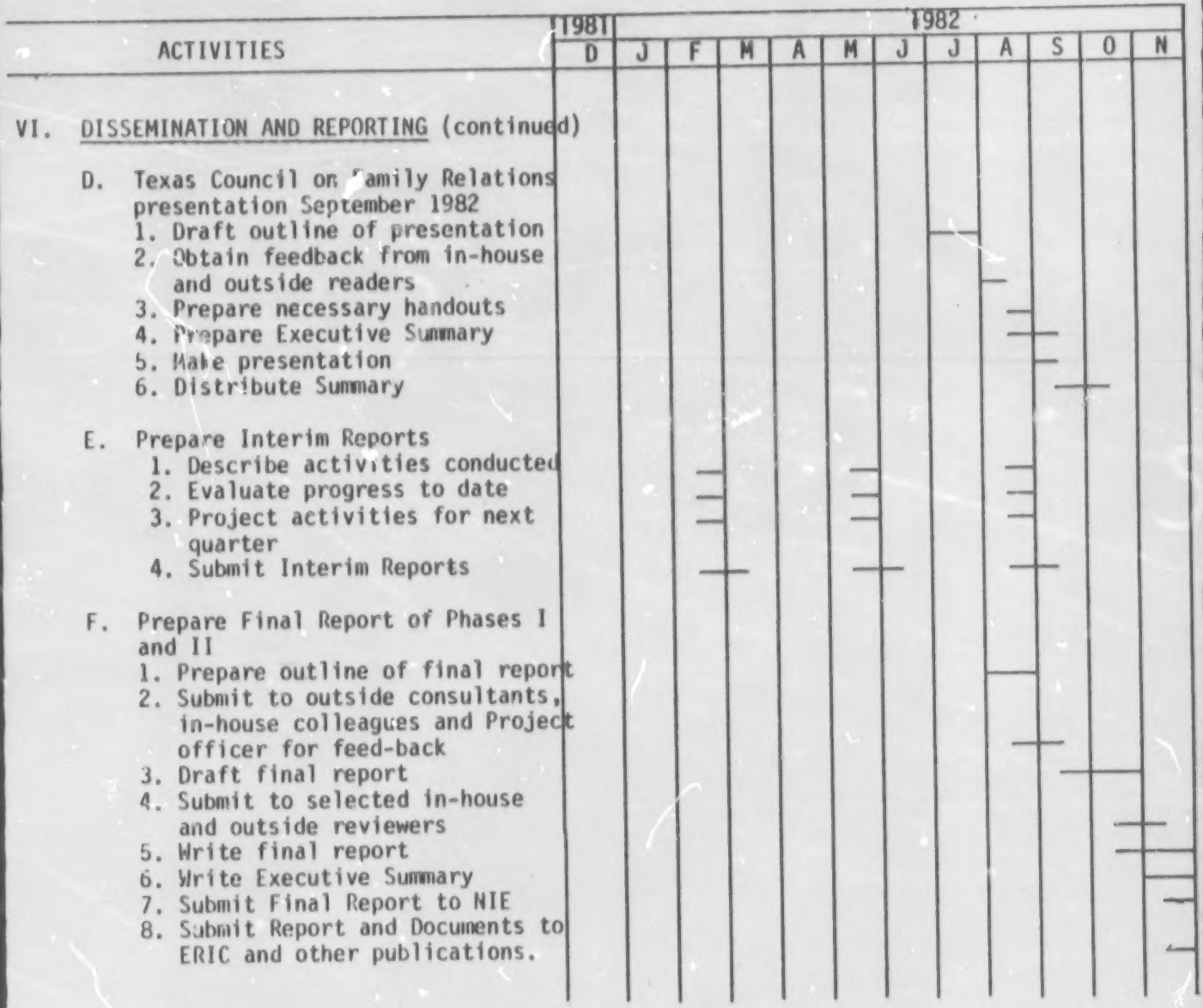
V. DATA ANALYSIS
A. Coding
1. Review of current coding categories (from Phase I)
2. Develop new coding categories if warranted by preliminary analysis
3. Apply new and/or revised coding categories to test for inter-coder consistency
4. Refine coding skills by reviewing coded materials
5. Code interview data
B. Quantitative data analysis
1. Score and store data for computer analysis
2. Analyze scales and other quantitative information available
3. Validate quantitative analysis with qualitative data and vice versa
C. Qualitative analysis
1. Examine coded data for evidence of patterns or trends related to any of the major variables of the study, including job characteristics, family relevant policies, income levels, education, ethnicity, ages of parents and children, day care and schooling, etc.

ACTIVITIES	1981 D	1982 J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N
VI. DISSEMINATION AND REPORTING												
A. Executive Summary of Phase I Results												
1. Draft Executive Summary												
2. Distribute Executive Summary												
3. Conduct follow-up visit with union officials who helped in Phase I and interested former participants												
B. AERA Presentation of Phase I preliminary findings												
1. Draft paper												
2. Submit to in-house and outside readers												
3. Revise paper												
4. Present paper at AERA Meeting												
5. Submit to ERIC and/or other appropriate publications												
C. Organize and conduct Workshop(s) with interested decision/policy makers*												
1. Define objectives for this activity												
2. Specify and identify appropriate target audience(s)												
3. Inquire about potential interest for the activity												
4. Set up date, time and place												
5. Conduct the Workshop(s)												
6. Evaluate the Workshop(s)												

* This activity is contingent on consultation with Project Officer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VI. DISSEMINATION AND REPORTING (continued)
D. Texas Council on Family Relations presentation September 1982
1. Draft outline of presentation
2. Obtain feedback from in-house and outside readers
3. Prepare necessary handouts
4. Prepare Executive Summary
5. Make presentation
6. Distribute Summary
E. Prepare Interim Reports
1. Describe activities conducted
2. Evaluate progress to date
3. Project activities for next quarter
4. Submit Interim Reports
F. Prepare Final Report of Phases I and II
1. Prepare outline of final report
2. Submit to outside consultants, in-house colleagues and Project officer for feed-back
3. Draft final report
4. Submit to selected in-house and outside reviewers
5. Write final report
6. Write Executive Summary
7. Submit Final Report to NIE
8. Submit Report and Documents to ERIC and other publications.

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APPENDICES

A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

B. CODING CATEGORIES

C. WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE SUBSCALE DESCRIPTIONS

APPENDIX A

FIRST MOTHER INTERVIEW

1. THE FAMILY IN ITS COMMUNITY (How long lived there? Where came from? Number of relatives and friends close by? How often see them?)
2. INTRODUCTION TO HER WORK AND FAMILY HISTORY (Education? Working mother? How long married? Ages and sex of children? Her age?)
3. EMPLOYMENT (Jobs she has had? How felt about them? Why left them? How family influenced by jobs? How family involved in decisions to quit, change, etc.? Child care arrangements and decisions, criteria, how were made?)
4. EMPLOYMENT WITH COMPANY LEADING TO CURRENT JOB (How came to company? Previous jobs with company and reasons for change?)
5. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT JOB (Nature of tasks? Training received? Physical setting? Social setting, co-workers, number and proximity? How work load determined and assigned? Variety in daily, weekly, monthly schedule? Closeness of supervision, frequency and mode? Type of decisions involved in daily work?)
6. SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK (Frequency and setting for socializing at work [talk about family?]? Relationships with supervisors? How well knows other workers? Socializing after work?)
7. FEELINGS ABOUT EVERYDAY WORK (Rewarding, challenging, satisfying, interesting? Tiring, boring, repetitive, monotonous? Stressful, predictable, relaxed?)
8. FOCUS ON REWARDS (Learning useful for other jobs within company? Learning useful in other settings [i.e., home, school, social life, etc.]? Specific skills? Knowledge? Self-confidence? Social contacts? What about job most rewarding? What about job least rewarding?)

9. FOCUS ON CONFLICT OR DISSATISFACTION (How responds or copes with stress, pressure, conflict? Interpersonal conflicts with co-workers? Conflicts with supervisors or management? Role of union in conflict, grievances?)

10. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION (Has considered another job within the company? Has considered another job, occupation, elsewhere? Knows how to go about it [changing]? Discussed this with her family? How would change affect family?)

11. FEELINGS ABOUT COMPANY "FAMILY-RELEVANT" POLICIES (Sick and maternity leave? Shifts and overtime? Vacation? Influence of policies on her family life; adaptations?)

17. IMPORTANCE OF SECOND INCOME TO OVERALL FAMILY FINANCES (Relative importance of Mother's income; own or rent home? Special uses of mother's income? Joint v/s separate accounts and bill payments? Approximate total income for last year? If income could be made up, would she work?)

12. EFFECTS OF HER DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER (Good days affect home behavior? Bad days affect home behavior? How family adjusts/responds to work effects?)

13. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior? How negative aspects of work have affected home life? What adaptations has family made to her work? What adaptations has job [or career] made to her family?)

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14. EFFECTS OF HIS DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - FATHER (How good days affect home behavior? How bad days affect home behavior? How family adjusts/responds to these work effects?)

15. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - FATHER (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior? How negative aspects of work have affected home life? What adaptations has the family made to his work? What adaptations his work or career has made to his family?)

16. THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD CARE/AFTER SCHOOL CARE SYSTEM (Current arrangements, satisfaction, concerns? Alternatives considered, past experiences? Criteria for selection of current choice(s)? Decision-making process? Father participation in decision and implementation?

SECOND MOTHER INTERVIEW

1. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT (How does the family manage to take care of all everyday tasks needed to get everybody fed, dressed and off to school/work; specific assignments, responsibilities; fixed or flexible schedule; does everybody understand and accept system; how satisfied is she with the system)
2. SPECIAL RULES FOR CHILDREN AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT (Are there clear-cut rules set down for children's behavior, responsibilities, behavior with siblings, other children, parents or adults; how are rules enforced; by whom; how consistently over time and between parents; techniques used; types of rewards and punishments used)
3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARENTS (Do both parents agree on rules and techniques for enforcement; how are disagreements handled)
4. RULES FOR PARENTS (Have parents--individually or together--set rules for their own behavior as parents at home, like never argue in front of children, set aside time to talk, protect them from work-related moods of spouse, etc.)
5. EVOLUTION OF FAMILY WORK AND RULE SYSTEMS (How did family come to have their present systems; how were decisions made; main factors influencing system; effect of work content or schedules on system; child care arrangements influence on systems and rules)
6. FAMILY COMMUNICATION (How much they talk and know about each other's activities; is there a special time or place for communication; do all members participate; do they share hobbies, interests or other activities as a family or in pairs)
7. FAMILY TIME v/s PERSONAL TIME (Does she have much free time; what does she do with it; how do other members of family feel about it; are there

regular activities that the whole family participates in; how much planning is there; what do they do in case of conflicts over personal versus family time; how much parental control is there over children's time use; what do they do with vacation time-decisions, timing, etc.)

8. FAMILY IMAGES AND GOALS (Does she have specific images or goals about how she would like family to be, in terms of personal growth, individual pursuits, tone or quality of family life; are these images or goals shared by other members; do current jobs encourage/discourage attainment of goals and how)

9. INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY AND SCHOOL/CHILD CARE SYSTEMS (Relationship with the schools, teachers, and other caregivers; knowledge and approval of content of education; similarity in philosophy; mutual influences and participation)

10. PARENTING STYLE AND INFLUENCES (How she characterizes self as a parent; what have been the main influences on her style; especially important traits encouraged in children; methods and techniques used to encourage them)

11. PARENT SELF ASSESSMENT (Things she does particularly well as a parent; things she is disatisfied with and would like to change; what has she done to change them or how she copes with feelings)

12. PARENTAL ROLE NEGOTIATION (How much does her husband share her views on important traits and methods or techniques; how are disagreements resolved; what are areas of disagreement--examples)

13. ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE ORIENTATION (Are there lessons about life or work-related experiences she wants to pass on to children; would she like her children to have a job like hers; do they talk about the future; what is she doing to prepare them)

FATHER INTERVIEW

1. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (Education and training; jobs he has had; how felt about them; why left them; how family influenced by jobs; how family involved in decisions to quit, change, etc.)
2. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT JOB (Nature of tasks; training received; physical setting; social setting, co-workers, number and proximity; how work load determined and assigned; variety in daily, weekly, monthly schedule; closeness of supervision, frequency and mode; type of decisions involved in daily work)
3. SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK (Frequency and setting for socializing at work [talk about family?]; relationships with supervisors; how well knows other workers; socializing after work)
4. FEELINGS ABOUT EVERYDAY WORK (Rewarding, challenging, satisfying, interesting; tiring, boring, repetitive, monotonous; stressful, predictable, relaxed)
5. FOCUS ON REWARDS (Learning useful for other jobs within company; learning useful in other settings [i.e., home, school, social life, etc.]; specific skills; knowledge; self-confidence; social contacts; what about job most rewarding; what about job least rewarding)
6. FOCUS ON CONFLICT OR DISSATISFACTION (how responds or copes with stress, pressure, conflict; interpersonal conflicts with co-workers; conflicts with supervisors or management; role of union in conflict, grievances)
7. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION (Has considered another job within the company; has considered another job, occupation, elsewhere; knows how to go about it [changing]; discussed this with his family; how would change affect family)

8. FEELINGS ABOUT COMPANY "FAMILY-RELEVANT" POLICIES (Sick and personal leave; shifts and overtime; vacation; influence of policies on family life; adaptations)

9. EFFECTS OF HER DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA (Good days affect home behavior; bad days affect home behavior; how family adjusts/responds to work effects)

10. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior; how negative aspects of work have affected home life; what adaptations has family made to his work; what adaptations has job [or career] made to family needs)

11. THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD CARE/AFTER SCHOOL CARE SYSTEM (Satisfaction; concerns)

12. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT (How satisfied with the system the family has evolved to take care of everyday tasks; how satisfied with his own participation and responsibilities)

13. RULES FOR CHILDREN AND PARENTS (How satisfied with the rules used for children and adult relationships and behavior)

14. EVOLUTION OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND RULES (Main factors influencing development of the system, especially his job's influence over form and/or content of system and rules)

15. FAMILY COMMUNICATION AND COHESION (How much he talks about and knows about other member's activities; special time or place for this; how much free [personal time] he has; how he uses it and how others feel about it)

16. FAMILY IMAGES (Does he have images or goals of how family should be; are these shared by others; do your jobs encourage the realization of these goals)

17. PARENTAL ROLE (How he characterizes self as a parent; what have been main influences; especially important traits or habits for children; methods or techniques used to encourage them; something he does particularly well as a parent; something that he has difficulties with; how he copes with it)

18. PARENTAL ROLE NEGOTIATION (How much does wife share views on important traits for children and methods or techniques; how are disagreements resolved; what are some areas of disagreement in child related issues)

19. ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE ORIENTATION (Are there lessons about life or experiences that want to pass on to children; would like child to have job like his; do they talk about work future; what is he doing to prepare child for future)

APPENDIX B

FIRST MOTHER INTERVIEW: CODING CATEGORIES

B	BASIC INFORMATION
FH	WORK AND FAMILY HISTORY CHRONOLOGY
MOT	MOTIVATION FOR WORKING, TAKING/LEAVING JOBS, FUTURE PLANS/DREAMS
ES	EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT CURRENT JOB, AND EFFECTS OF JOB ON HER
POL	STATEMENTS ABOUT WORKPLACE POLICIES
CONF	RESPONSE OF SELF, FAMILY TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, STRESS, DECISION-MAKING
W/F	EXPLICIT STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS, EVALUATION, REASONS, STANDARDS

SECOND MOTHER INTERVIEW : CODING CATEGORIES

TA	TASK ALLOCATION (THE SYSTEM)
CONF	STATEMENTS ABOUT RESPONSES OF SELF TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, NEGOTIATION AND DECISION-MAKING
WF	EXPLICIT STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
FL	FAMILY LIFE
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

FATHER INTERVIEW (THIRD INTERVIEW) : CODING CATEGORIES

MOT	MOTIVATION FOR WORKING, TAKING/LEAVING JOBS, INCLUDING FUTURE PLANS/DREAMS
ES	EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT CURRENT JOB, EFFECTS ON HIM
POL	STATEMENTS ABOUT EFFECTS OF WORKPLACE POLICIES
TA	TASK ALLOCATION (THE SYSTEM)
CONF	RESPONSES TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, NEGOTIATION AND DECISION-MAKING
WF	INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
FL	FAMILY LIFE
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

Work Environment Scale Subscale Descriptions

Relationship Dimensions

1. **Involvement** — *Measures the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs; includes items designed to reflect enthusiasm and constructive activity.*
2. **Peer Cohesion** — *Measures the extent to which workers are friendly and supportive of each other.*
3. **Staff Support** — *Measures the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other.*

Personal Growth Dimensions

4. **Autonomy** — *Assesses the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. Includes items related to personal development and growth.*
5. **Task Orientation** — *Assesses the extent to which the climate emphasizes good planning, efficiency and encourages workers to "get the job done".*

System Maintenance and System Change Dimensions

6. **Work Pressure** — *Measures the extent to which the press of work dominates the job milieu.*
7. **Clarity** — *Measures the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated.*
8. **Control** — *Measures the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep workers under control.*
9. **Innovation** — *Measures the extent to which variety, change, and new approaches are emphasized in the work environment.*
10. **Physical Comfort** — *Assesses the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment.*

Family Environment Scale Subscale Descriptions

Relationship Dimensions

1. **Cohesion** — *The extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other.*
2. **Expressiveness** — *The extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly.*
3. **Conflict** — *The extent to which the open expression of anger and aggression and generally conflictual interactions are characteristic of the family.*

Personal Growth Dimensions

4. **Independence** — *The extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions and to think things out for themselves.*
5. **Achievement Orientation** — *The extent to which different types of activities (i.e., school and work) are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework.*
6. **Intellectual-Cultural Orientation** — *The extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual and cultural activities.*
7. **Active Recreational Orientation** — *The extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities.*
8. **Moral-Religious Emphasis** — *The extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values.*

System Maintenance Dimensions

9. **Organization** — *Measures how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring the family activities, financial planning, and explicitness and clarity in regard to family rules and responsibilities.*
10. **Control** — *Assesses the extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner, the rigidity of family rules and procedures and the extent to which family members order each other around.*